DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 463 408 CE 082 693

AUTHOR	Taylor, Maurice, Ed.
TITLE	Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education/L'Association Canadienne pour L'Etude de L'Education des Adultes (17th, Ontario, Canada, May 29-31, 1998).
INSTITUTION	Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, Guelph (Ontario).
PUB DATE	1998-00-00
NOTE	307p.; One paper is in French. Published by the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC13 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Action Research; *Adult Education; Adult Educators; Adult Learning; Art Expression; Classroom Techniques; *Computer Mediated Communication; Context Effect; Developed Nations; Developing Nations; Distance Education; Educational Change; Educational Gerontology; *Educational Research; Educational Technology; Ethics; Foreign Countries; Graduate Study; Higher Education; Indigenous Populations; *Informal Education; Internet; Labor Education; Labor Force Development; Learning Theories; Lifelong Learning; Literacy; Open Education; Participatory Research; *Prior Learning; Professional Education; Research and Development; Research Methodology; Student Attitudes; Teacher Role; Teaching Methods; Theory Practice Relationship; Transformative Learning; Unions
IDENTIFIERS	Africa (West); Canada; India; Koran; Latvia; Malawi; Reflection Process; Reversal Theory; Thailand; Work Based Learning

ABSTRACT

These proceedings on the theme, Adult Education Research: Shaping the Future, contain 52 papers. The papers are: "Virtual Adult Education" (W. Archer and D. Conrad); "Reversal Theory Approach to Adult Learning and Education" (M. Atleo); "Objectiver L'Action" (A. Balleux et al.); "Cultural Constructions of Literacy" (A. Blunt); "Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition" (D. Briton et al.); "Distance Education and Learner Autonomy" (P. Bouchard and L. Kalman); "Toward a Redefinition of Formal and Informal Learning" (G. Burns); "Feminist Commitments in Adult Education" (S. Butterwick et al.); "Innovative Research Practices for Adult Education" (N. Campbell et al.); "Facilitating Reflection and Action through Research" (A. Chan); "Including the Body in Learning Processes" (L. Crawford); "A Double-Edged Sword" (U. Critoph and D. Martin); "Learning Strategies of Early British Columbia Divers" (B. Cuthill); "Adult Education and a Community-Based Nutrition Project" (N. Drost); "Role of Action Research in the Creation of New Knowledge" (R. Dyson et al.); "Koranic Learning and Local Development in West Africa" (P. Easton and M. Peach); "Learning from Changes in Leadership" (L. English); "Constructed Identities in Participatory Research Discourse" (W. Fischer); "Fixing the World?" (T. Fenwick); "Learning through Discourse" (P. Gamlin and S. Cook); "Pedagogical Strategies To Encourage Student Interaction in the Open Learning Classroom" (R. Gouthro); "Doing History Not Doing History" (P. Grace); "Home Thoughts on

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Globalization" (E. Harris); "Learning, Working, and Caregiving" (C. Hinds and A. Home); "S-Curve Relevance to Collective Learning for Knowing Using TRACE Participatory Action Research" (S. Hobbs and G. Grant); "Shifting the Ground of the Familiar" (C. Jongeward); "Blood, Sweat, and Tears" (H. Kanuka and D. Conrad); "Constructing the Role of the Adult Educator in Higher Education" (C. Kreber); "Teaching Leadership" (O. Kritskaya); "Skill and Knowledge Acquisition in the Informal Seector of the West African Economy" (G. Liebert and P. Easton); "New Approaches to Lifelong Learning" (D.W. Livingstone et al.); "Evaluation of a Human History/Environmental Exhibit Using a Video Tracking Technique" (L. Logan); "Re-Visioning Peace Research" (G. Macdonald and A. Adelson); "Adult Learning on the Internet" (W. McQueen and B. Fallis); "Adult Education and Educational Reform in Latvia" (S. Miezitis and O. Zids); "Education for Planetary Consciousness" (E. O'Sullivan); "Technology-Based Distance Delivery" (S. Owen); "Back to the Roots; Back to the Future" (A. Pattapinyoboon); "Inclusivity and Exclusivity in Adult Education" (M. Petlock); "Informal Learning Processes in a Worker Cooperative" (J. Quarter and H. Midha); "Challenging Our Traditional Research Positionality" (A. Quigley and T. Sork); "Educational Gerontology" (D. Radcliffe); "Role and Influence of Culture and Context in the Development of International Communities of Practice Among Organization Development Practitioners" (I. Richter and M. Laiken); "Elements de la Formation a la Pratique Reflexive de Cadres Soignants" (H. Sami); "Hidden Dimensions of Working-Class Learning" (P. Sawchuk et al.); "'This Would Scare the Hell out of Me If I Were an HR Manager'" (P. Sawchuk); "Distinguishing the Moral from the Expedient" (T. Sork); "Union Movies" (J. Taylor); "Rethinking Power in Participatory Research" (J. Taylor); "Explanatory Power of an Early Framework of Good Practice Principles in Workplace Education" (Taylor); "Ye Are Not Men! Ye Are Gods" (A. Thomas); and "Struggle for Selves" (L. West). Individual papers contain references.) (YLB)

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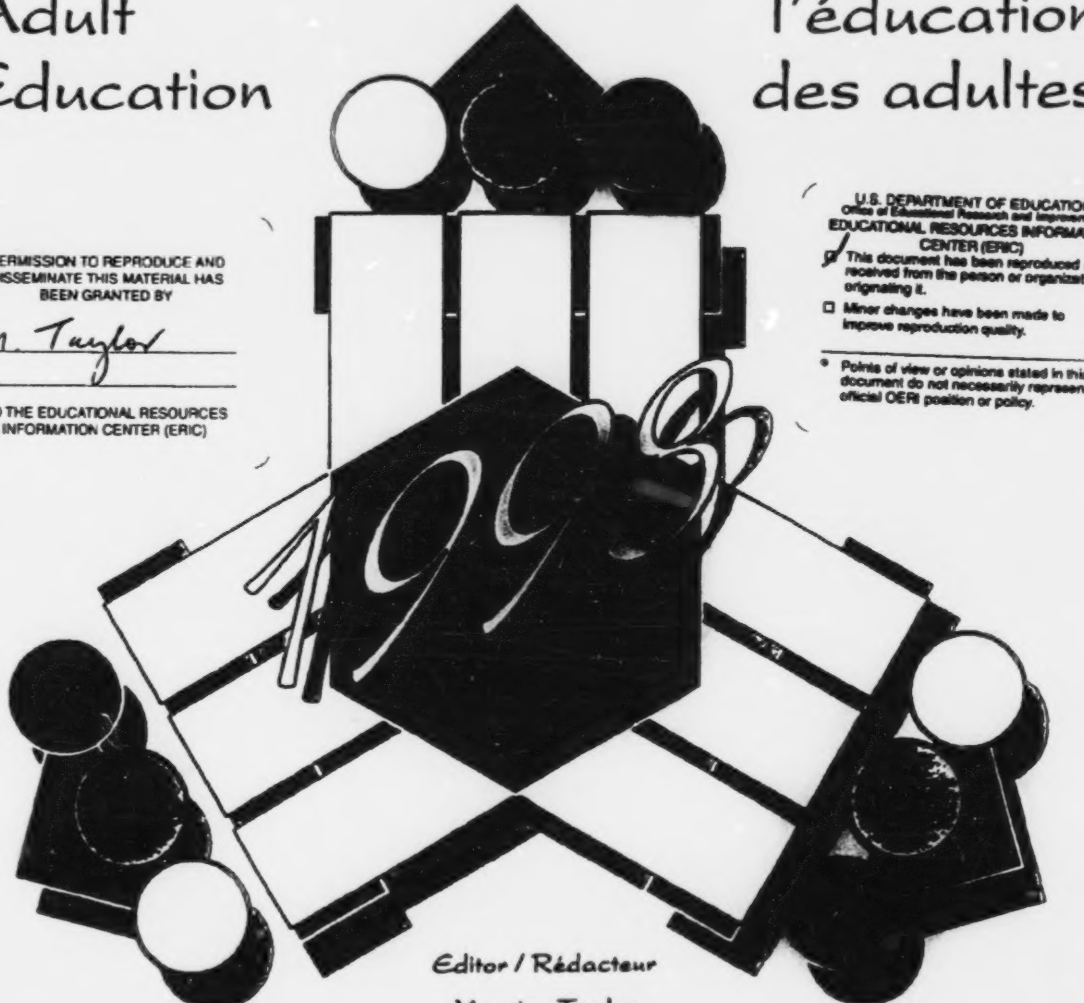
ED 463 408

Proceedings of the 17th Annual conference of

Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education

Les Actes du 17e Congrès Annuel

L'association canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes



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Editor / Rédacteur
Maurice Taylor

Published by
Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, Ontario
May 1998

Publié par
Faculté d'éducation
Université d'Ottawa
Ottawa, Ontario
Mai 1998

CE 082 673

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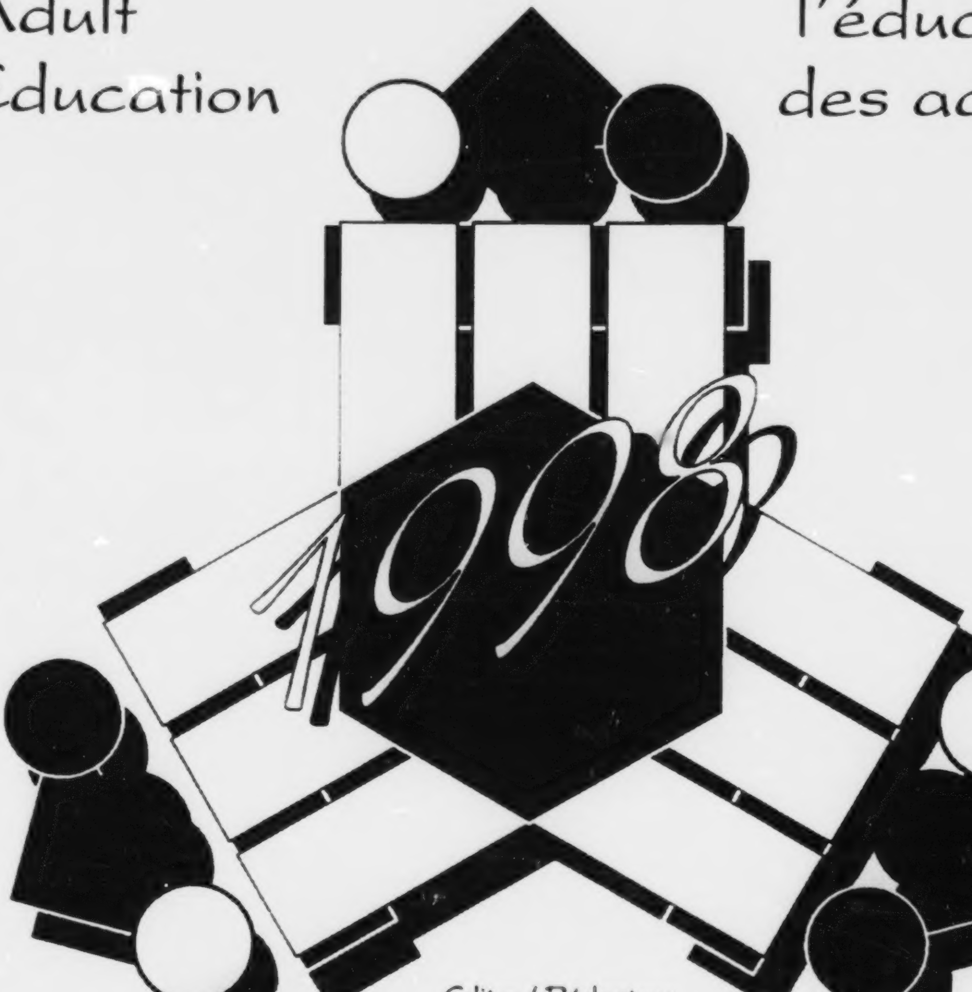

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Maurice Taylor

Published by
Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, Ontario
May 1998

Publié par
Faculté d'éducation
Université d'Ottawa
Ottawa, Ontario
Mai 1998

CASAE-ACEEA Conference Proceedings

INTRODUCTION

Welcome to the 1998 CASAE-ACEEA Conference.

On behalf of the Board of CASAE-ACCEEA I would like to welcome you to our 1998 conference. This is the 17th year that we, as Adult Educators, have come together from all parts of the country to share our research, re-establish friendships, and discuss the workings of our association.

We have planned three full days of activities that reflect our theme "Adult Education Research, Shaping the Future".

We are especially fortunate this year to have a number of joint sessions with other associations and a research group. There are sessions with the Canadian Association for the Study of Women in Education, the Canadian Society for the Study of Education, and the Canadian Communications Association. Along with these fine events, we will have a special focus on the work of the new Approaches to Lifelong Learning network (NALL), as well as a tribute to Paulo Freire. Our Friday night reception will focus on "Cultural Celebrations" and our Saturday night banquet will let you sample Moroccan cuisine. All in all, you will find that the conference offers you a wide range of activities. Please plan to attend the A.G.M. and commit yourself to making our association even better in the future.

You will notice that we are providing simultaneous translation for two activities this year, the opening session and the A.G.M. We hope to expand on our bilingual nature in the future.

I would like to thank both Cora Hinds and Maurice Taylor for their unflagging support of the conference planning process. Cora's attention to detail and ability to get things accomplished has been essential. Maurice's efficient and effective methods have ensured that the papers were processed, the schedule was created, and the proceedings were completed.

And finally I would like to thank, you, the members of CASAE-ACEEA, for attending this conference and for sharing your research, supporting your colleagues' work, struggling with new ways of understanding, and committing yourselves to forms of adult education research that will have a positive impact on our world.

Cheers,

Bill Fallis
President CASAE-ACEEA 1997-1999

CASAE-ACEEA

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IN-KIND SUPPORT

CASAE-ACCEEA would like to thank the following institutions and government agencies for their generous support of our activities over the past year.

George Brown College of Applied Arts and Technology

Social Science Humanities Research Council

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St. Francis Xavier University

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Ontario Institute for the Study of Education/University of Toronto

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* *

CASAE/ACEEA Conference Program May 29-31

Friday, May 29

8:30 a.m.- 5:30 p.m.	Brooks 204	CASAE/ACEEA Secretariat
8:30 - 10:15 a.m.	Brooks 202	Professor's Meeting, Co-Chair Tara Fenwick and Leona English
	Brooks 216	Graduate Students' Meeting, Chair, Thomas Turay
10:15 - 10:30 a.m.	Hall Area Montpetit 202	Coffee Break/Health Pause
10:30 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.	Montpetit 202	**Opening Session** - Adult Education Research: Shaping the Future, Keynote Speaker - Michael Welton (Simultaneous Translation)
12:00 p.m. - 1:30 p.m.	Brooks 202	Board of Directors Meeting (Out-Going)
1:30 - 3:00 p.m.	Montpetit 202	**CASAE-CASWE Joint Session** Building Research Networks: How to Succeed
1:30 - 4:15 p.m.	Lamoureux Auditorium	**CASAE-CSSE-NLS Joint Session** Literacy Research Symposium
3:00 - 3:15 p.m.	Hall Area Montpetit 202	Coffee Break/Health Pause
3:15 - 3:45 p.m.	Brooks 216	Walter Archer and Dianne Conrad - ***Virtual Adult Education: Shaping the Future of Conventional Universities*** - Paper Session

3:15 - 4:15 p.m.	Brooks 202	Geraldine Macdonald and Anne Adelson - ***Re-visioning Research: Beginnings Unfoldings*** - Symposium
3:15 - 3:45 p.m.	Brooks 207	Donovan Plumb - ***Communicative Learning*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 215	Hachicha Sami - ***Éléments de la formation à la pratique réflexive de cadres soignants*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 302	Starr Owen - ***Technology-based Distance Delivery: The Learners' Perspectives*** - Paper Session
3:45 - 4:15 p.m.	Brooks 207	Linden West - ***A struggle for Selves and Stories: A Cultural Psychology of Adult Learning in the Paradoxical Postmodern Moment*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 202	Tara Fenwick and Jim Parsons - ***Boldly Solving the World: A Critical Analysis of Problem-Based Learning as a Method of Professional Education*** - Paper Session
4:00 - 5:30 p.m.	Brooks 314	CASAE Journal Board Meeting
4:30 - 5:00 p.m.	Brooks 216	Cora Hinds and Alice Home- ***Learning, Working and Caregiving: Nursing Students Rise to The Challenge*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 207	Estelle Chamberland - ***Stratégies d'apprentissage et stratégies d'adaptation chez les adultes en difficulté d'apprentissage*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 202	Peter Gamlin and Sheila Cook - ***Learning Through Discourse*** - Paper Session
4:30 - 5:30 p.m.	Brooks 215	Don Chapman ***Re-Visiting John Clarence Webster in the New Millenium: Community Education in Progress*** - Poster
	Brooks 215	B.J. Tucker and Sandra P. Hirst - ***Expanding Access to Distance Education: The Role of the Education Resource Centre for Continuing Care*** - Poster

4:30 - 5:30 p.m.	Brooks 215	Susan MacDonald - ***Public Legal Education in Ontario Legal Clinics*** - Poster
	Brooks 215	Marlene Atleo - ***A Reversal Theory Approach to Adult Learning and Education*** - Poster
	Brooks 215	Elayne Harris and Carolyn Jongeward - ***Learning Globalization Walking the Talk — Talking the Walk*** - Poster
5:00 - 5:30 p.m.	Brooks 216	Maurice Taylor - ***The Explanatory Power of An Early Framework of Good Practice Principles In Workplace Education*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 207	Hind Salem - ***Les divergences et les convergences entre les systèmes éducatifs des pays du G7 aident à mieux comprendre le décrochage scolaire au Québec*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 202	Gary P. Liebert - ***Skill and Knowledge Acquisition in the Informal Sector of West Africa*** - Paper Session
5:30 - 7:30 p.m.	SAL 150	Reception and Cultural Celebration

Saturday, May 30

8:30 a.m. - 5:30 p.m.	Brooks 204	CASAE/ACEEA - Secretariat
8:30 - 9:00 a.m.	Brooks 202	David Radcliffe - ***Educational Gerontology: Completing the Enterprise*** - Paper Session
8:30 - 9:30 a.m.	Brooks 216	Nettie Campbell, Leslie Crawford and Geraldine MacDonald - ***Innovative Research Methods for Adult Education: Creating Knowledge for Shaping the Future*** - Symposium
	Brooks 207	André Balleux, Chantal Beaudry, Sami Hachicha and Marie-Eve Marchand - ***Objectiver l'action : Défi de formation?*** - Symposium

8:30 - 9:00 a.m.	Brooks 302	Elayne Harris - ***Home Thoughts on Globalization*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 215	Amara Pattapinyoboon - ***Back to the roots; Back to the future: A study of adult learning in Thailand*** - Paper Session
9:00 - 9:30 a.m.	Brooks 202	Rose Anne Dyson and Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg - ***The Role of Action Research in the Creation of New Knowledge*** - Paper Session
9:00 - 10:00 a.m.	Brooks 215	Mary Calder - ***Strengthening Teacher Practice Through Teacher Research: An ESL Case Study*** - Poster
	Brooks 215	Kefyalew Mandefrot - ***End-User Compujter Training and Adult Learning: Implications for Human Resource Development*** - Poster
	Brooks 215	Marilyn Laiken, Stephen Friedman, Karima West and Jan McColl - ***Models of Organizational Learning: An Emergent Form of Community in the Post-Industrial Workplace - A Comparative Study - Phase 1 Results*** - Poster
9:30 - 10:00 a.m.	Brooks 202	Micheal Welton - ***Listening and Citizenship: The Pedagogics of Civil Society*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 216	Melody Petlock - ***Inclusivity and Exclusivity in Adult Education: Toward Disability Awareness and Sensitive Not-Understanding*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 302	Dianne Conrad and Heather Kanuka - ***Blood, Sweat and Tears: Battling Tendency and Tradition in the Virtual Classroom*** - Paper Session
9:45 - 10:00 a.m.	Hall Area Montpetit 202	Coffee Break/Health Pause
10:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.	Montpetit 202	Annual General Meeting (Simultaneous Translation)
12:00 p.m. - 1:30 p.m.	Brooks 202	Board of Directors Meeting (In-Coming)

1:30 - 3:00 p.m.	Montpetit 202	New Approaches to Lifelong Learning (NALL) - Symposium David Livingstone - ***A Report from NALL: The First National Survey of Informal Learning Practices*** Dorothy Smith - ***The Storage and Transmission of Men's Informal Learning in Working-Class Communities*** - Symposium
	Montpetit 202	Sandra Clifford, Gail Carrozzino, and D'arcy Martin - ***Prior Learning and Recognition (PLAR): A 'Values' Document: The Labour Movement Viewpoint of PLAR*** - Symposium Kjell Rubenson, Discussant
3:00 - 3:15 p.m.	Hall Area Montpetit 202	Coffe Break/Health Pause
3:15 - 3:45 p.m.	Brooks 215	Carolin Kreber - ***Constructing the role of the adult educator in higher education: Experienced and new university teacher's role conceptualization*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 207	Lorne Logan - ***Evaluation of a Human History/Environmental Exhibit Using a Video Tracking Technique*** - Paper Session
3:15 - 4:15 p.m.	Brooks 216	Budd. L. Hall, Robin Mason, Wendy Fishcer and Lisa Taylor - ***Whose Knowledge Really Counts: Challenges to Participatory Research*** - Symposium
	Brooks 202	Robert Beaudin, George Burns and Joyce Pitawanakwat - ***Informal Learning Culture Through the Life Course: Initiatives in Native Organizations and Communities*** - (NALL) - Paper Session
	Brooks 202	Harish Midha, Asa Copithorne and Damion Mockford - ***Informal Learning in a Worker Co-operative: The Big Carrot Co-op*** - (NALL) - Paper Session

3:15 - 4:15 p.m.	Brooks 202	Eric Shragge, Jean-Marc Fontan, Roxana Ng and Kathryn Church - ***New Forms of Social Learning for Those Outside the Mainstream Labour Market*** - (NALL) - Paper Session
3:45 - 4:15 p.m.	Brooks 215	Olga Vsvolodovna Kritskaya - ***Teaching Leadership: Aspects of Transformational Pedagogy*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 207	Alan M. Thomas - ***"Ye Are Gods": A National History of the Student*** - Paper Session
4:15 - 4:45 p.m.	Brooks 207	André P. Grace - ***"Doing History": Making Sense of Modern Practice as a Cultural Practice*** - Paper Session
4:15 - 5:15 p.m.	Brooks 216	Edmund O'Sullivan, Angela Miles, Darlene Clover and S. Mojab - ***Transformative Learning: Globalization, Resistance Education and Alternative Visions*** - Symposium
	Brooks 202	Bruce Spencer, Winston Gereluk and Derek Briton - ***PLAR of Non-Formal Non-Vocational Education: Preliminary Report on a Labour Education NALL Project*** - (NALL) - Paper Session
	Brooks 202	D.W. Livingstone, Peter Sawchuk and Reuben Roth - ***Hidden Dimensions of Working-Class Learning*** - (NALL) - Paper Session
	Brooks 202	Ursule Critoph and D'arcy Martin - ***A double-edged sword: Value, Tensions and Constituency Stakes in Implementing Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition*** - (NALL) - Paper Session
4:45 - 5:15 p.m.	Brooks 207	Patti Gouthro - ***Pedagogical Strategies to Encourage Student Interaction in the Open Learning Classroom*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 215	Garnet Grosjean - ***Adult Education and the Labour Market: Shaping the Future or Recycling the Past?*** - Paper Session
4:30 - 6:30 p.m.	Hospitality Tent University Centre	Rector's Reception

5:15 - 6:15 p.m.	Brooks 216	Special Event - Remembering Paulo Friere
6:30 - 9:30 p.m.	Banquet	

Sunday, May 31

9:00 a.m. - 3:00 p.m.	Brooks 204	CASAE/ACEEA Secretariat
9:00 - 9:30 a.m.	Brooks 202	Jeff Taylor - ***Union Movies: Film and Canadian Labour Education, 1940-1960*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 207	Solveiga Miezitis and Oskars Zids - ***Adult Education at the University of Latvia*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 215	Peter Easton and Mark Peach - ***Koranic Learning and Local Development in West Africa*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 302	J. Bryan Cuthill - ***Learning Strategies of Early British Columbia Divers*** - Paper Session
9:00 - 10:00 a.m.	Brooks 216	Bill Fallis and Bill Mcqueen - ***Appreciating How Adults Learn in Cyberspace: Issues and Experiences From the Field*** - Symposium
9:30 - 10:00 a.m.	Brooks 202	Paul Bouchard - ***Learner-Determined Learning at a Distance: A Case Study in Higher Education*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 207	Leona English - ***Learning from Changes in Community Leadership: Two Case Studies of Informal and Incidental Learning at the Grassroots Level*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 215	Peter Sawchuck - ***"This would scare the hell out of me if I was an HR manager": Workers Making Meaning(s) Out of Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition"*** - Paper Session

9:45 - 10:00 a.m.	Hall Area Montpetit 202	Coffee Break/Health Pause
10:00 - 10:30 a.m.	Brooks 216	B. Allan Quigley and Tom Sork - ***Challenging Our Traditional Research Positionality: The Move Towards Research-In-Practice in the Field of Adult Education*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 215	Andrian Blunt - ***University Graduate and Functional Illiterate: How Did OJ Get Away With It?*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 302	Jack Quarter - ***James John Harpell: Unknown Adult Educator*** - Paper Session
10:00 - 11:00 a.m.	Brooks 202	Shauna Butterwick, Sue Collard and Andrea Kastner - ***Feminist Commitments in Adult Education: A Case of Banishment or Confinement?*** - Symposium
10:30 - 11:00 a.m.	Brooks 216	Andrienne Chan - ***Facilitating Reflection and Action Through Research*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 207	Nancy M. Drost - ***Adult Education and a Community-Based Nutrition Project: Action Research in Malawi*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 215	Carolyn Jongeward - ***Adult Education Research in India: Shifting the Ground of the Familiar*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 302	Thomas J. Sork - ***Distinguishing the Moral From the Expedient: A Critical Content Analysis of Codes of Ethics in Adult Education*** - Paper Session
11:00 - 11:30 a.m.	Brooks 216	Elizabeth Lange - ***Conflicted Ethics of Social Justice: Freire and Pedagogies for the Canadian Non-Poor*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 215	Marilyn Laiken and Ingrid Richter - ***Emerging Communities of Practice: The Role and Influences of Culture and Context in the Development of International Communities of Practice Among OD Practitioners: Results of Phase One*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 302	Kirk Ferguson - ***A Study of Deaf Literacy Programs in Canada*** - Paper Session

11:30 - 12:00 p.m.	Brooks 207	Leslie Ann Crawford - ***Including the Body in Learning Processes*** - Paper Sesson
	Brooks 302	Adnan Qayyum - ***As Community Becomes the Market: The Commodification of Adult Education Programs in the Lower Mainland*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 215	Bruce Spencer, Winston Gereluk and Derek Briton - ***Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition: Issues for Adult Educators*** - Paper Session
	Brooks 216	Stephen Hobbs and Gerard Grant - ***The S-Curve for Collective Learning for Knowing Using TRACE Participatory Action Research*** - Paper Session
12:00 p.m. - 1:30 p.m.		Lunch On Own
1:30 - 3:00 p.m.	Lamoureux 122	**CASAE-CCA Joint Session** New Technology, Contemporary Citizenship and Civil Societies

CASAE-ACEEA Conference

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VIRTUAL ADULT EDUCATION: SHAPING THE FUTURE OF CONVENTIONAL UNIVERSITIES

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Conventional universities are experimenting with virtual adult education. Internet based delivery of programs opens up new opportunities. It also raises some new issues and challenges some aspects of traditional university culture(s). Is the potential gain from virtual programs worth the risk to the integrity of the university?

Des programmes d'éducation virtuelle pour adultes sont actuellement mis en place dans les universités conventionnelles. Les programmes basés sur Internet offrent de nouvelles opportunités. Par ailleurs, ils soulèvent de nouveaux problèmes et remettent en question certains aspects de la (des) culture(s) universitaire(s) traditionnelle(s). Ce que l'on peut potentiellement gagner grâce à ces programmes virtuels vaut-il le risque de porter atteinte à l'intégrité de l'université?

Introduction

> One might say that many institutions are approaching distance learning by walking into the future backwards.
>
> Turoff, 1997b

One of the respected pioneers in the field of virtual adult education, Murray Turoff, has sketched the structure and economics of a standalone, cost recovery virtual university (Turoff, 1997a). He calculates that a virtual university for about 2000 students with a tuition of $15,000 (US) per year, where each faculty member was paid a flat $150,000 per year and class sizes were about 25-30 could break even after an initial outlay of about $15 million (about the cost of one new building). Given that the quality of instruction at such an institution would be very high (with faculty salaries of $150,000 (US) per year, it should be!), and the tuition is in the lower-mid range for private universities in the US, the appearance of such virtual institutions would seem to bode very ill for the future of conventional campus-based institutions.

Some such standalone virtual institutions of higher education have already appeared. However, the bulk of new virtual higher education programs are not coming from standalone virtual institutions, but rather from conventional institutions adding virtual courses and programs to their campus-based offerings. There are now few universities in Canada which do not offer at least some distance courses and programs, and an increasing proportion of these distance offerings are internet-based.

These peripheral (to the conventional university) internet offerings are generally in the area of continuing professional development – already a peripheral enterprise for the conventional university. These internet offerings are still a very small part of the total activities of the typical campus-based institution. However, the issues raised by their first virtual programs may point to a dramatically changed future for these conventional universities.

Universities are not being herded like obedient sheep in the direction that their virtual educator shepherds are trying to lead them. In sharp contrast to the new "from scratch" virtual university envisaged by Turoff (1997b), these established conventional institutions already have a firmly entrenched culture (or cultures) which provides strong resistance to change. Discussions of such university cultures, and their influence on the ability of universities to adapt to changing times, include Archer (1995), Bergquist (1992), Neilson & Gaffield (1986), Newson & Buchbinder (1988), Pannu, Shugurensky, & Plumb (1994), and Shumar (1997). The ability of universities to make necessary changes by adapting their culture to the advent of virtual higher education may decide whether they survive throughout the twenty-first century or are eclipsed by other educational entities. Their challenge will be to change enough to survive while at the same time preserving the virtues that have made university education unique and valuable.

The following section discusses some of the issues that have arisen at one conventional university that is beginning to introduce some virtual courses and programs. It is framed in the form of a dialogue of the deaf between a group that includes the authors of this paper, who are trying to introduce some virtual continuing professional development programs at the university, and some other members of the university community who are less than eager to see such programs introduced. This is followed by a concluding section that reflects briefly upon the non-results of this dialogue and upon the culture of universities.

Virtual adult educators talk past hidebound university dinosaurs

Point #1 (with fervour):

If we don't get into virtual adult education, specifically virtual Continuing Professional Development (CPD) then we're dead. It won't be the Athabascas and OLAs of this world that will do us in, but the Harvards, Stanfords, Queen's, and Western Ontarios that will tack on virtual cohorts to their glitzy professional programs and skim the cream off the increasingly important CPD market. We are no longer protected by geography. The cost of Internet based delivery does not increase with increasing distance, as the costs of many other distance media do. Furthermore, asynchronous Internet based programs are so attractive that they enroll many students who are also enrolled in on-campus courses (Turoff 1997b; Guernsey 1997). So adding virtual courses to some of our existing programs could enhance their attractiveness, thereby strengthening our campus based programming at the same time as we attract some truly distant students.

Point #2 (snarled):

We can no longer tolerate the slow pace of program approval and program development at universities. In some of the emerging disciplines in which virtual education is in most demand, taking two or three years to approve and develop a new program in the now highly competitive marketplace for distance education means that some other private or public provider will have cut us out before we even launch our program, or will at least have skimmed the cream from the market. Such competitors can come from anywhere in the world. As Turoff (1997b) remarks, "distance education is already crossing international boundaries and we will soon be entering an international marketplace in distance education." So we can't continue to act is if it doesn't really matter if it takes us three or more years to go from a program idea to offering the first classes in that program.

Point #3 (with despair):

The reward structure at universities has to be changed if we are going to survive in the new world of virtual programming. At present, professors get tenure, promotions and salary increments by publishing and obtaining research grants. Teaching is not rewarded except by lip service. We need to reverse these priorities so that professors can take the time to learn how to create and deliver excellent virtual courses, a time and energy consuming process, without sabotaging their own careers.

Point #4 (with exasperation):

We need to have the freedom to hire adjunct instructors, as required, to teach virtual courses, particularly in the area of CPD. The requirement of having to hire tenure track academic staff to not only design the courses but also instruct in them hamstrings any virtual CPD program. Tenure track professors usually lack interest in learning a new way of teaching, always lack time (they have to do their research and publishing, after all), may not be good teachers anyway (they were hired for their research potential), may be somewhat out of touch with the practicalities of their field, and demand higher stipends than we would have to pay to get better instructors elsewhere. For programs that have to be created quickly for emerging professions we don't have appropriate tenure track staff anyway and it would take far too long to hire them, not to mention the risk of hiring tenure track staff (a thirty year commitment) for a program that may or may not survive its first year in a cost recovery environment.

Point #5 (pleading):

Virtual adult education, particularly in CPD, is a highly competitive business; therefore, we have to run our operation like a business. That means that we have to pay very close attention to what our clients want and will pay for, and give it to them how, where, and when they want it.

Stalwart defenders of the integrity of the university talk past upstart virtual adult educators

Rebuttal #1 (coldly):

Virtual adult education, and for that matter all forms of distance education, will always be a fringe activity, at best, for reputable universities. Our mandate is to provide high quality programs, particularly graduate programs, for regular on-campus students. Because of political pressure from politicians and other people who don't understand university education we may have to provide a few distance courses and perhaps even some complete distance programs. However, in hard times such as we are now enduring those fringe programs should not be allowed to divert one nickel from resources desperately needed for our core on-campus programs. In other words, we will reluctantly tolerate some virtual adult education, particularly in the area of CPD, just so long as it recovers all of its costs by charging four times the tuition that we charge for our regular on-campus programs.

Rebuttal #2 (contemptuously):

This university is not a degree mill, like some others we could mention. We offer only high quality programs. That means programs that are scrutinized very carefully during the several stages of the approval process. Rushing a half-baked program proposal to the implementation stage is ultimately self-defeating, since it will result in our offering a low quality program that will damage the reputation of the university, and therefore the hard-won reputation of all our other programs.

Rebuttal #3 (firmly):

Research is what makes a university different from a college. It must remain our top priority. It makes the reputation of the university, and therefore attracts students to our vital graduate programs. It also brings in large amounts of grant money, a vital consideration when our base budget has been cut so severely over the past two decades. Besides, good research feeds into good teaching. So a concentration on research effectively serves the second function of the university, teaching, as well. But professors can't have too much of their time tied up by teaching, so teaching should be done as efficiently as possible. Virtual teaching would be okay if it allowed us to handle more students in less time, but since all indications are that it actually takes more time per student we should do as little of it as we can get away with.

Rebuttal #4 (angrily):

The use of adjunct instructors, except sparingly and when absolutely necessary, not only reduces our control over a program but lowers the quality of that program as well. The use of adjuncts not only damages programs but is also a form of exploitation of a cheap labour source (Shumar, 1997). It is a regrettable necessity in these hard times, but we should not make any programming moves that will necessarily involve an increase in our reliance on adjunct teaching staff.

Rebuttal #5 (adamantly):

Quality higher education is not a business, and never will be. We academics, who have made ourselves the leading experts in our fields of study, are the ones who have the knowledge base that allows us to make wise decisions as to what should be taught in our programs. The content of our programs is much too important a matter to be decided by the short term goals of business and professional people, or by the latest business fads and gurus. And, by the way, reputable universities don't have clients, they have students, who are by definition less competent to judge what they need to learn than we are.

Conclusion

Many more points and rebuttals could be made (and are in fact being made) in this dialogue. The debate over virtual adult education is one instance of the broader debate that takes place continuously between each university's practitioners of cost-recovery adult education (usually located in an extension or continuing education unit) and the rest of the university that works with heavily subsidized, base funded programs aimed at mostly full time students. This debate becomes particularly intense when the "upstarts" try to enter the holy of holies of the university, the graduate school – as the authors of this paper are currently discovering.

The debate has so far not been particularly fruitful, in that it has not yet led to any consensus as to how the university should deal with the issue of virtual adult education. A major cause of the fruitlessness of this debate is that the two sides are speaking out of different cultures (from different planets?), so tend to talk past each other with very limited understanding of where the other side is coming from. Each side is making points reasonable and logical within their own set of values and assumptions. It is just that their cultures or models of what the university is or should be are so different.

The "hidebound academics" are clearly operating from within the set of values and assumptions that make up what Newson and Buchbinder (1988) refer to as the "haven for scholars" model of the university. Just as clearly, the "upstart virtual adult educators" are operating within the new, corporate sector influenced model that Newson and Buchbinder deplore as the "service university." (Archer, 1995 discusses an early twentieth century application of this term to a quite different model of the university.)

The discussion by Bergquist (1992) of four academic cultures that coexist, in various proportions, in most institutions of higher learning, is perhaps more enlightening than the models laid out by Newson and Buchbinder. Assuming this framework, the task at hand is to find some accommodation between the collegial culture, which is inward looking and tends to resist change, and the managerial culture, which tries to direct change by reacting quickly to external circumstances – the approach taken by our virtual adult educators in the dialogue sketched above.

We suspect that a dialogue somewhat similar to the one we have outlined here is taking place in most universities, since it is vital to their future or lack of one. We also suspect that all adult educators based at universities are taking a lead role in these discussions. We therefore look forward, at our session, to listening to the insights you have gathered from taking part in this important discussion at your own institutions.

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A Reversal Theory Approach to Adult Learning and Education.

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Abstract

Dichotomizing themes in adult education suggest a need for a meta-theoretical approach to understanding the experience of adult learning. Reversal theory is a structural phenomenological approach that may serve to bridge some current dichotomies, allowing educators to better understand the complexity and makeup of the client's motivational field.

Les thèmes dichotomiques en Sciences de l'éducation de l'adulte suggèrent le besoin d'une approche meta-théorique dans le but de comprendre l'expérience de l'apprentissage de l'adulte. La théorie dynamique meta-motivationnelle propose une approche structurelle phénoménologique pouvant être utilisée afin de compenser certaines dichotomies courantes, permettant aux enseignants de mieux appréhender la complexité et la structure du champs des motivations de l'élève.

Current themes in the field of adult education suggest the need for a fresh new approach to understanding some of the apparent dichotomies experienced in theories of adult learning and education. Adult education and learning theory are typically filled with dicotomized conceptualizations such as global or analytic information processing, strategies or styles of learning, active or reflective techniques, active or theoretical knowledge production that are like problems the adult educator needs to solve in their practice. Such dichotomization points to the need for a higher order conceptual framework into which we can bring such paradoxes of our practice for more effective analysis and theorizing. Bringing these paradoxes of practice into a phenomenological field of experience may provide more strategic positioning both for practice and theorizing about practice.

As adult educators we have functioned to the greatest extent as developers and trainers of adults with goal orientations towards notions such as "adult", "development", "education", "democracy" depending upon which learning and development models we have synthesized into our praxis model and current social, economic and popular institutional demands. Praxis driven by ideologies has a tendency to reproduce ideals at both affective and cognitive levels when we acknowledge the pragmatic strategies of socially adaptive adults. Consequently, our increasing reflexivity behooves us to revisit our client/participant to understand their our goals and theirs in the light of our mutual resources and aspirations and learning strategies.

A meta-theoretical approach to dimensions of learning that place the educator and the learner into a common field of subjective or phenomenological experience that reflects interaction in practice conditions may be one way to achieve a more strategic positioning for both teaching and learning. Because much of our early adult learning and education theory comes from a behavioral orientation there may be vestiges of such an orientation in the theory that informs the assumptions of adult educators and that is still use in their practice. Even social learning theorist are largely dependent on the motivational formulations that are derived from behavioral models of learning. While constructivist developments in adult education and learning have been embraced by practitioners, behavioralist assumptions are difficult to root out of practice. Constructivist practitioners may use new learning and teaching strategies but still bring behavioralist assumptions with them into the process. The gains of the motivational dimensions of constructivist practice may be lost if an unelaborated behavioralist model of motivation is used.

Adult educationalist have promote learning from behavioralist and social learning paradigms whose foundations lie in Hebb's (1955) formulation of motivation as explicated in his homeostatic model of arousal (Fig. 1). Hebb hypothesized that individuals have an optimal level of arousal which they seek to maintain. If the arousal is too low they feel bored and if too high they feel anxious or stressed. Hebb's equilibrium model of arousal/motivation informs vast domains of theory and predictive models of consumer and economic behavior. While Hebb's formulation has been useful in explaining and predicting dichotomized behavior it does not lend itself to explaining or predicting learning that transformations behavior through the subjective motivational process. Consequently, for the purposes of adult education, Hebb's theoretical formulation may have been useful for "re-conditioning" but not necessarily for re-learning at higher levels of functioning. The major drawback to Hebb's model is that it does not have the capability to model the learning transformations adult educators/learners promote/seek in their practice. A Hebb engine in a constructivist teaching vehicle would be like a car without an engine or at best a one stroke engine.

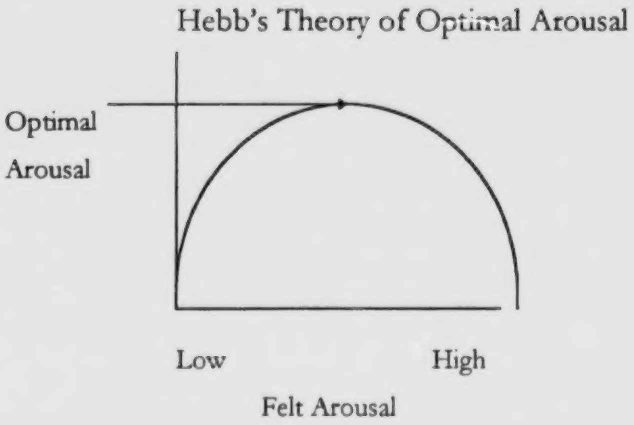

Fig. 1 Optimal arousal as a function of moderate levels of felt arousal

Much of adult educational practice facilitates motivation of adult learning in particular contexts and constructivism is one of the most popular approaches. Apter's (1982, 1989) Reversal Theory can provide adult educators a more complex and comprehensive meta-motivational model in which to practice their craft. Reversal Theory (RT) is a structural phenomenological approach to meta-motivation that is concerned with the structure of felt experience and the dynamics of transition between fields of felt experience. The foundation of the RT research program is subjective experience, a critical component of adult learning. Of central concern is the maintenance and transformation of phenomenological structures through a process of "switching" between motivational pairs that facilitates the flow of optimal experience (Rae, 1993). The core of RT is motivation operationalized as the experience of arousal. Arousal is organized by hedonic tone (pleasant and unpleasant) and intensity of arousal (high and low) resulting in four pairs (telic/paratelic, negativist/conformity, mastery/sympathy, and autocentric/allocentric), eight basic states. RT recasts arousal theory, from a dichotomous experience that underpins much of conventional learning theory, as a polymorphous experience with a range of modalities, opening a new understanding of the complexities of learning both for practitioners and learners.

The twin butterfly curves of RT provide a visual heuristic that is intuitively recognizable by educators from their teaching experience. The motivational "dance" between educator and client/student in the learning process finds a graphic illustration in this model (Fig. 2).

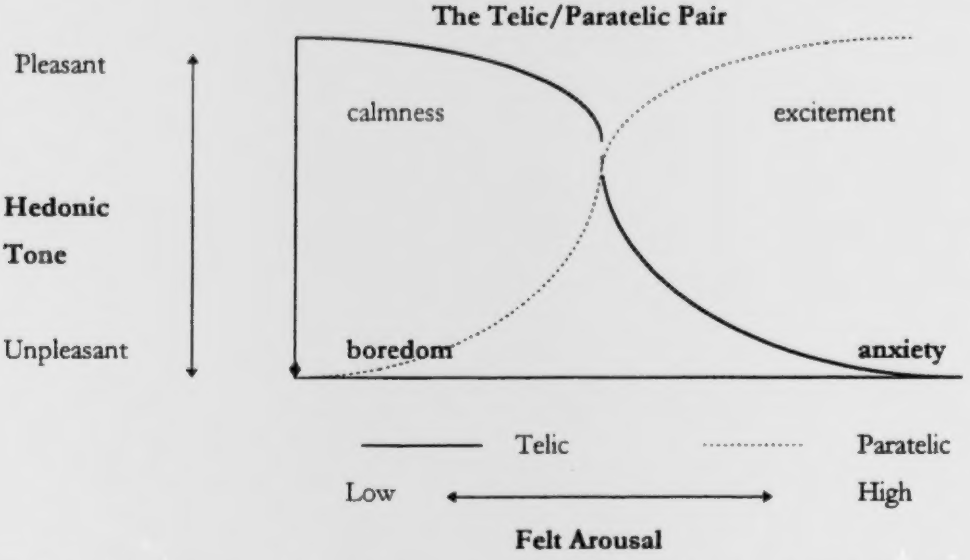

Fig. 2 The relationship between felt arousal and hedonic tone for the telic and paratelic mode. (Potocky & Murgatroyd, 1993:16)

This conceptualization of bi-stability in the dynamic of the motivational system suggests pairs of states that can be shifted between rather than dicotomized. The characteristics of the telic and paratelic states are graphed on the dimensions "hedonic tone" which is anchored in "pleasant" and "unpleasant" and "felt arousal", "high" to "low". The graph depicts the interaction effects of this motivational pair which Hebb seems to have rolled into one state in his conceptualization of "optimal" arousal. The telic state is characterized by calmness in states of low arousal and pleasant hedonic tone and anxiety in states of high arousal and unplesant hedonic tone. In this state individuals are typically avoiding arousal, goal oriented, future oriented, planning ahead, preferring important activity, and attempting to complete activities (Potocky & Murgatroyd, 1993). The paratelic state is characterized by excitement in states of high arousal and pleasant hedonic tone and boredom in states of low arousal and unpleasant hedonic tone. In the paratelic state individuals are typically seeking arousal, sensation oriented, playful, present oriented, spontaneous, preferring unimportant activity, and attempting to prolong the activity (Potocky & Murgatroyd, 1993). Telic dominant individuals who are calm under conditions of low arousal and pleasant hedonic tone would switch into increasing states of anxiety under conditions of increased arousal and unpleasant hedonic tone. If they can become playful (i.e., switch into the paratelic mode) such individuals could become excited as the pleasantness and the arousal in the experience increased. If the idividual in that same playful mode experienced low levels of arousal and unpleasanat hedonic tone they may feel bored.). The description of telic and paratelic states illuminate the basic mechanisms of RT.

This explication of the telic and paratelic states demonstrates the mechanisms which are generalizable to the other states and combination of states that can occur. The other pairs of states provide strategic information for challenges of other motivational dilemmas. The negativistic state may be encountered in adult programming that is required as a function of new social policies. The negativistic state is characterized by feelings of freedom in conditions of high felt arousal, pleasant hedonic tone and entrapment under conditions of low felt arousal and unpleasant hedonic tone. Understanding the interaction between arousal and tone would help to understand how this negativistic state can switch to conformist state in which there is cooperation, agreeability and a desire to comply (Potocky & Murgatroyd, 1993). O'Connell (1993) provides a lexicon for how the mastery/sympathy and the autic/alloic states create cognitive and affective synergies for transactional processes in a range of permutations. These states are seen to be available to all individuals although some may be predominantly telic and others predominantly paratelic and have other dominant state attributes. The implications for understanding where individuals may be motivationally could have important implications for teaching and learning practice.

The international RT program has proven utility in the areas of sports psychology (Barr, McDermott, & Evans,1993, Frey, 1993; Wilson, 1993;), health research, education, promotion, addictions and self help (Gerkovich, 1997; Rae, 1993; Svebak & Apter, 1997; Svabak, Mykletun, Bru, 1997). RT is especially suitable for adult education because it brings the learner and the educator can come to understand the shifting phenomenological field with the expression of felt experience in which they are dealing with shifting structural complexities of the learning process and content. The dynamics of flow can be understood with Reversal Theory concepts and terms to promote learning and skill development while curtailing anxiety and boredom (Rae, 1993). Csikzentmihalyi (1975, 1990) maintains that the dichotomy between work and play (telic/paratelic states) is not necessary if understood as maintaining the optimal experience of flow. RT thus aids adult educators in understanding how to "tune" into adult learners and help adult learners "tune-in" to them to facilitate the maintenance of a dynamic balance for optimal learning states. RT can help the adult educator can be more planful of and strategic in the affective components of their practice. The adult educator can provide better phenomenological framing effects to facilitate the learner's efforts (Apter, 1993). The adult learner can be more independently developmental in the process. The promise of RT is that the adult educator and adult learner can mutually manage the motivational environment of the education process for more advantageous outcomes.

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Reversal Theory website: http://www.swin.edu.au/ssb/rt/rthome.html

Reversal Theory Conference Spring, 1999, Windsor, Ontario, Canada.

Symposium

OBJECTIVER L'ACTION : DÉFIS DE FORMATION ?

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Résumé

La praxéologie, la science-action, les approches socio-cognitiviste et socio-existentielle, malgré leur visée d'aider le praticien à mieux objectiver son action, proposent des outils diversement adaptés : la démarche demeure éminemment personnelle, difficile et doit s'inscrire pour plusieurs de ces courants dans un réel effort de formation.

Abstract

Praxeology, action science, the socio-cognitivist and socio-existential approaches intend to objectivate the action and develop different ways to do so. The objectivation of one's action remains a personal and difficult journey and requires learning.

Introduction

Ce symposium introduit d'emblée un paradoxe : l'action humaine, qui est pourtant si familière, si collée au quotidien, apparaît comme énigmatique et à bien des égards inconnue. Peut-on objectiver l'action pour mieux la connaître et mieux la comprendre ? Nous proposons d'examiner ici trois approches qui tentent de répondre à cette question et trois interventions en découlant.

La praxéologie - règles de conduite ou quête de sens ?

André Balleux

Émergence de la praxéologie

La praxéologie que les auteurs décrivent globalement comme une science de l'action pourrait n'apparaître en rigueur de termes que comme un banal discours sur l'action. Elle se situe encore mal à la frontière de plusieurs champs que, faute de mieux provisoirement, nous qualifierons d'action. Considérée comme une science jeune, elle existe, mais encore incomplètement développée, "en miettes" dira Daval (1981). Par contre, ce qui la rend intéressante, c'est qu'elle est destinée à la mise en pratique et si elle se présente comme une science de l'action, elle se veut aussi d'emblée science pour l'acteur, au service de l'acteur et de son action.

Espinas (1890), le père fondateur, avait identifié praxéologie à technologie et à l'image de la logique qui guide la pensée, il cherchait à donner à l'action des règles d'efficacité. Il annonçait ainsi un des thèmes majeurs de von Mises (1963) pour qui la praxéologie se situe en plein champ des sciences économiques. L'action est échange dira von Mises entre Ego et Alter Ego et la praxéologie étudie cet échange, donc de ce point de vue, il s'agit autant d'une interaction que d'une action : un lieu de communication et d'organisation. Considérée aussi comme une logique de l'action individuelle pour Daval (1981), la praxéologie propose alors des principes, sortes d'impératifs (mal définis) ou de recommandations qui visent l'efficacité. Elle cherche donc à donner des moyens pour rendre l'action efficace. Pour Gaudet (1996), la praxéologie propose une méta-méthode qui permet d'élaborer des plans d'action en vue d'agir efficacement dans des situations spécifiques. Ce caractère dominant de l'efficacité est tellement fort que Kotarbinski fera de la praxéologie purement et simplement une science de l'efficacité de l'action. Enfin, dans le champ de l'action éducative, Roy (1984) pose que la praxéologie est une théorie critique qui nous permet de mieux comprendre ce qu'est la science de l'éducation, vue alors comme une science de l'action à des fins pratiques.

A l'opposé, on peut affirmer avec d'autres auteurs que la praxéologie n'est surtout pas une science de l'action, mais qu'elle doit être vue comme une démarche individuelle de construction de sens autant qu'une mise à l'épreuve de notre agir dans l'action (Lhotellier, 1995). Elle est bien ce passage de la pratique à la praxis, de l'expérience banale à l'expérience qui fait du sens et comme démarche d'autoformation, elle doit être envisagée comme une formation-action à partir de situations réelles. Pour St-Arnaud (1995) aussi, elle est vue comme une démarche, mais une démarche qui vise à rendre l'action plus consciente, plus autonome et plus efficace et St-Arnaud (1993) ira jusqu'à préférer le terme de praxéologie à celui de science-action déposé par Argyris et Schön (1974) et leurs successeurs des années 80. Dans la perspective d'une action pastorale, Nadeau voit la praxéologie comme une démarche critique qui cherche à connaître la réalité d'une pratique particulière en la rendant "plus consciente de ses enjeux en vue d'accroître sa pertinence et son efficacité (1989, p. 100). Ces trois derniers auteurs considèrent que la démarche de sens est une mise en mouvement qui peut constituer un obstacle de taille : elle nécessite un accompagnement de l'acteur par une personne qui est étrangère à l'action et peut guider l'acteur dans la découverte de sa réalité : elle se comprend nécessairement alors comme une démarche de formation.

Dans ce bref tour d'horizon, nous constatons que la praxéologie prend deux directions qui pourraient sans doute être complémentaires si elles avaient tenté un rapprochement. D'une part, elle est d'abord vue comme une sorte d'instrument (scientifique ?) à l'usage de l'acteur et grâce auquel il peut mieux comprendre l'action. Quelle soit science, théorie générale, impératifs ou principes, la praxéologie se présente alors comme un cadre de référence ou d'analyse, un construit qui sert de fondement à toute compréhension de la réalité d'action. Pourtant, dans sa volonté de fournir des instruments à l'acteur, elle apparaît comme générale, peu flexible aux situations particulières et aux changements. D'un autre point de vue, c'est la démarche de l'acteur qui est praxéologie. Celle-ci désigne alors la saisie de l'individu par rapport à son action singulière et qui lui permettra de mieux répondre aux objectifs qu'il s'est donné et mieux faire face aux contraintes et aux conditions changeantes de l'action. Elle se présente ici liée à l'acteur, cherchant à répondre aux particularités, retournant à l'action par l'acteur lui-même.

L'entretien d'explicitation

Sans s'identifier à la praxéologie, mais s'inscrivant parfaitement dans la lignée d'un Schön ou d'un St-Arnaud, Vermersch (1995) propose une démarche intéressante pour aider l'acteur à prendre des distances par rapport à son action et qu'il présente comme l'entretien d'explicitation.

Cette technique d'entretien mise au point à partir d'une pratique empirique d'une dizaine d'années propose de privilégier la verbalisation de l'action pour accéder à la mémoire d'évocation de l'action. Verbaliser l'action passée est un des premiers observables sur lequel s'appuyer : l'entretien se rapporte à une action qui s'est réellement déroulée (il ne s'agit pas de décrire une action déjà conceptualisée, évoquée en termes généraux). Pour ce faire, il requiert l'évocation de l'événement où le sujet relie les images, les sons, les sensations de l'expérience passée comme il est fait classiquement dans le contexte psychothérapeutique avec un ensemble de questions qui ne peuvent être que singulières ou sensorielles. Il importe ensuite de questionner sur un mode qui privilégie les aspects descriptifs de l'action au détriment d'une certaine conceptualisation pour avoir accès aux informations non conscientes et les questions posées portent sur la description de l'action ou des actions vécues (questionner les gestes par exemple ou solliciter la mémoire concrète). Les questions vont privilégier le "comment" sur le "pourquoi" des choses. Le but est donc de recueillir des informations pour documenter le détail des actions de manière à rendre la démarche du sujet plus intelligible et de repérer les informations implicites sous toutes leurs formes en focalisant sur l'action plutôt que sur le contexte, l'environnement, les circonstances ou les jugements, les opinions, les commentaires.

Mais ce qui est tout aussi important, c'est ce que Vermersch appelle la position de parole. L'acteur, quand il évoque l'action passée peut le faire d'une manière détachée, comme si l'action ne le concernait plus; il peut aussi évoquer son action d'une manière impliquée, incarnée (au sens d'enaction de Varela, 1993). C'est vers cette position de parole que doit tendre le médiateur s'il veut accéder aux dimensions concrètes de l'action (ralentir le rythme de la parole, faire spécifier le vécu, et parler à l'autre de son vécu sont des moyens utilisés pour y arriver). Il importe enfin de valider les informations obtenues selon trois critères complémentaires : est-ce vrai, suffisamment détaillé et complet ?

En guise de conclusion

Règle de conduite ou quête de sens, la praxéologie nous apparaît encore en ce moment en pleine émergence, mais désarticulée et même écartelée entre deux extrêmes. D'un côté, on la voit qui fait la part belle à l'action en oubliant l'acteur. D'un autre côté, on la suit dans sa centration sur l'acteur au détriment du contrôle que celui-ci exerce sur l'action elle-même. La proposition de Vermersch quant à elle, se présente comme une première étape, déterminante et incontournable dans la prise de possession du vécu de l'action. Largement diversifiée dans toutes sortes d'applications, elle apporte à l'acteur un instrument qui va l'aider, non pas à la remédiation de l'action mais bien à la prise de conscience de celle-ci : elle se montre alors nécessairement comme une démarche de formation accompagnée.

Argyris et Schön : pratique professionnelle et démarche de formation

Chantal Beaudry

Argyris et Schön nous font entrer dans le monde de l'organisation et définissent l'action comme la pratique professionnelle (1974, 1978). Ainsi mise en contexte et précisée, l'action fait l'objet d'une démarche théorique menant à la constitution d'une nouvelle science qu'ils nomment «action science» et appelant à une épistémologie de l'agir professionnel chez Schön (1983). Nous examinerons ici la conception de l'apprentissage et les démarches éducatives en découlant au regard de leur conception de la pratique professionnelle, à partir de leurs ouvrages qui s'articulent autour de l'élucidation du rapport entre la théorie et la pratique dans l'exercice de la pratique professionnelle. Deux ensembles de propositions se dégagent.

Théorie professée et théorie d'usage

L'écart entre le discours et l'action se comprend comme le rapport entre une théorie professée («professed theory») et une théorie d'usage («theory-in-use»). La théorie professée est explicite : l'acteur l'énonce lui-même. La théorie d'usage ne se dit pas, elle se déduit de l'observation de l'action. Le spécialiste peut en inférer les variables déterminantes à partir de l'observation du comportement de l'acteur et de l'étude de sa conduite telle que la rapporte l'acteur selon un protocole précis.

Les théories de l'action de ramènent à deux modèles de comportement. Les théories d'usage appartiennent au modèle 1 : ce sont des théories de contrôle unilatéral. L'acteur doit maîtriser la situation et faire adopter sa solution. Les théories professées appartiennent au modèle 2 : ce sont des théories ouvertes au partage du contrôle et à l'enquête, à la discussion et à la collégialité.

Le passage du modèle 1 au modèle 2 constitue l'enjeu de la démarche de formation qu'Argyris et Schön proposent aux professionnels. Ainsi conçoivent-ils l'apprentissage comme une modification de la conduite : l'apprentissage s'inscrit dans le changement et exige l'intervention d'un tiers, l'expert capable d'analyser la situation, de poser un diagnostic et d'accompagner le changement (Herreros, 1996).

Argyris et Schön distinguent deux ordres d'apprentissage : l'apprentissage en simple boucle vise la modification des techniques et des stratégies mises en œuvre dans la pratique professionnelle. L'apprentissage en double boucle consiste à transformer les valeurs et les présupposés qui sous-tendent les conduites tenant du modèle 1. Le professionnel soumet à l'examen une situation particulière. L'analyse de cas se fait dans un petit groupe ou seul avec l'intervenant.

Bien qu'Argyris se détache dans cet ouvrage du mouvement des relations humaines qu'il a contribué à asseoir (Crozier et Friedberg, 1977), la démarche de formation proposée peut être rattachée au courant de la psychologie humaniste en éducation des adultes dans la mesure où l'enjeu reste l'être humain et ses valeurs, particulièrement dans ses relations interpersonnelles, malgré la médiation nécessaire d'un expert.

Savoir caché dans l'agir professionnel et pratique réflexive

Par la suite, Schön va examiner de plus près l'exercice de sa profession par le professionnel (1983, 1987, 1991). Le rapport entre la théorie et la pratique oppose le savoir disciplinaire, produit de la recherche scientifique universitaire, et le savoir-en-action qui constitue la pratique professionnelle. La réflexion du praticien dans et sur la pratique constitue une recherche au même titre que la recherche scientifique mais relève d'une rationalité autre.La pratique professionnelle est un échange constant qu'effectue le praticien entre la situation à laquelle il doit faire face et les savoirs qu'il possède. Trois notions articulent cette «conversation» : la formulation du problème, l'art de la pratique et le savoir caché («tacit knowledge»).

La pratique professionnelle comprend un travail de transformation d'une situation problématique en un «problème tout court». C'est un art qui met en œuvre l'accumulation d'expérience et de connaissance-en-action du professionnel. Le «savoir caché dans l'agir professionnel» (traduction de Heyneman et Gagnon) est un savoir-faire qui s'exerce mais ne se dit pas, que le praticien possède sans le savoir, qui se révèle par l'action, à la fois savoir en action et intuition. L'enjeu de formation devient ici la mise au jour de ce savoir et sa transmission. La réflexion dans et sur l'action le permet. C'est une réflexion qui doit s'apprendre. Il n'y a ici ni expert médiateur ni tiers intervenant : il y a un praticien qui sait exercer sa pratique et sait en parler, dont la pratique est réflexive. La transmission de la connaissance se fait dans l'action **et** dans la réflexion dans et sur l'action, par la verbalisation de cet échange du professionnel avec une situation, la conversation réflexive. Il n'y a pas d'enseignement, il y a encadrement («coaching»).

En guise de conclusion

Argyris et Schön proposent aux professionnels deux démarches de formation qui s'appuient sur la reconnaissance de la distance qui sépare le discours de l'action. La première fait appel à un expert et vise la modification de la conduite et des valeurs qui la sous-tendent. Elle repose sur le postulat de l'adéquation entre un comportement et une théorie de l'action.

La seconde, celle de Schön, met en valeur une réflexion dans et sur la pratique professionnelle qui permet d'exprimer le savoir pratique. Elle met la pratique réflexive au cœur de la formation des professionnels et la réflexion dans et sur la pratique à l'ordre du jour de la formation continue. Elle suppose que l'exercice de la profession permet la constitution d'un savoir pratique qui ne se dit pas, dont l'expression est possible quoique difficile et très personnelle.

Il reste qu'on peut toujours se demander si ces deux propositions d'interprétation de la pratique professionnelle et les démarches de formation en découlant peuvent nous permettre de comprendre les besoins de formation des professionnels et d'en déterminer les objets en dehors des projets théoriques qui les soutiennent.

Les approches sociocognitiviste et socio-existentielle d'objectivation de l'action

Sami Hachicha

Le **sociocognitiviste** Malglaive (1993, 1994) définit le savoir en usage comme une totalité structurelle constituée de savoirs théoriques, procéduraux, pratiques et de savoir-faire. Ce savoir en usage règle l'action et permet de maîtriser le pourquoi et le comment de l'activité. Au coeur du processus de transformation dynamique de sa structure, l'action fournit les données à formaliser. Elle dessine la logique de la mise en oeuvre et la logique de la réflexion, circuit long qui doit se déployer lorsque le savoir en usage s'avère insuffisant et qu'il faut en remanier la structure, l'alimenter de nouvelles formalisations pour continuer à agir.

La régulation de la réflexion est mentale. Le passage de l'action à la connaissance, entendue comme développement de la structure des capacités articulant représentations et opérations cognitives, se réalise à la faveur de trois processus: le processus procédural, intra-procédural puis intra-objectal, relatif à l'action; le processus objectal, relatif aux objets transformés par l'action et le processus structural, relatif aux opérations de la pensée.

Pour Malglaive procéduraliser c'est prendre conscience de l'organisation des actions et l'expliciter dans un langage adéquat. Ceci passe par les observables ou les "observables interprétés", prélevables sur les états de l'objet à partir de leurs caractéristiques et indices perceptibles tels qu'ils se manifestent dans l'action. Liés au processus de transformation de l'objet, les observables constituent des données porteuses de signification quand elles sont interprétées. Ces dernières sont à la source des savoirs pratiques mis en jeu dans l'action. Mais les constats dégagés de l'action et repérés comme des observables doivent correspondre à une symbolisation adéquate pour laquelle le langage descriptif de la procéduralisation ne suffit généralement plus. Il faut alors changer de registre, dépasser les simples abstractions empiriques et entrer dans le domaine de l'abstraction réfléchissante et celui des processus "inter" de la pensée. Il s'agit alors de rendre conscient le contrôle de l'action, i.e. "expliquer les relations entre les actes et l'état de l'objet qui en résulte pour chaque pas de la procédure" (1993: 222). Activité andragogique riche en apprentissages, l'énonciation ouvre à la formalisation et crée le sens, comme elle permet surtout de définir des points de repérage, d'ancrage, sur lesquels se basent l'acquisition et la formalisation des connaissances.

Il y a alors deux modalités de la formalisation, deux étapes successives s'appuyant l'une sur l'autre: la formalisation schématique ou construction d'une représentation figurale et la formalisation symbolique ou construction d'une représentation conceptuelle, du schéma à l'écriture symbolique. La symbolisation, figurale ou schématique des observables dessine le processus de transformation de l'objet. Elle est nécessaire à sa compréhension qui passe par la prise de conscience des ressorts de l'organisation de l'action, dans une formalisation des savoirs pratiques. Il s'agit là d'un premier niveau de formalisation. Approfondir cette représentation suppose soit la mobilisation d'outils cognitifs soit le recours aux structures opératoires (voir Piaget), soit les deux le plus souvent. Il y a aussi manipulation de différents langages. Les produits sont multiples: représentations, configurations schématiques, figurales et symboliques et modèles.

Pour Malglaive toute activité est donc indissolublement action et cognition .Une fois qu'il comprend et qu'il formalise la logique de l'action, l'acteur peut prendre conscience des outils cognitifs mis en oeuvre de manière implicite dans de telles activités afin de les rendre mobilisables dans la confrontation du non-connu. Selon lui la question importante en formation des adultes est de "savoir comment ceux qui ont besoin des connaissances théoriques peuvent les acquérir , comment elles peuvent s'enseigner afin de prendre pour eux une efficacité pratique en s'intégrant à leurs structures de capacités" (1993 : 219), dans une pédagogie du concret. Pour y arriver des difficultés sont à surmonter. Parmi elles: 1. l'attachement aux règles de nécessité d'efficacité pratique et non à la logique; 2. la difficulté pour le praticien habitué au concret, celui peu scolarisé surtout, de dire son action, de traduire le réel au moyen des catégories, des classes, des caractérisations que fournissent les langages; 3. la difficulté de séparer l'action, celle non technique surtout, des systèmes de valeurs, des idéologies, tout simplement du vécu dans lequel elle est nécessairement engagée, pour se centrer sur les seuls mécanismes fonctionnels, sur les actes qu'ils supposent et les objets qu'ils transforment.

Le **socio-existentialiste** Honoré (1908, 1992) reprend le concept aristotélicien de pratique. Pour lui mettre en question une pratique, c'est dégager la *poiesis* , i. e. le faire qui précède l'oeuvre et qui est produit en tant qu'oeuvre, de l'idée toute faite et pré-établie de son résultat, pour l'interroger sur une possible efficience nouvelle et la *praxis,* i.e. la mise en oeuvre elle-même pour elle-même, des conditions techniques dans lesquelles elle est généralement limitée, pour l'ouvrir à l'invention. C'est poser des questions sur le sens de ce qui était à accomplir à son origine et sur celui des techniques, du savoir-faire qui en ont constitué les modalités de réalisation. C'est la réflexion qui, à partir de l'expérience, va mettre sur la voie de la connaissance, en passant par des hypothèses.

Par la réflexion, il y a objectivation du sujet et subjectivation de l'objet; il y a aussi suspension des automatismes réflexes et ouverture du champ du décidable. Elle a deux moments. Au premier d'intériorisation, elle se manifeste par la perception, qui aboutit à une représentation, et par l'observation, qui a un caractère intentionnel. Au second d'extériorisation, elle est source de la représentation et de l'imaginaire. Ce sont les représentations et les concepts à partir desquelles la pensée logique va échafauder connaissances et valeurs qu'elle va articuler non plus en sens, mais en théorie du jugement. Ce qui relie devient relations formalisées et connaissance. Alors la réflexion modifie le rapport de force dans le champ où elle s'exerce. Elle est provocatrice a l'égard des pratiques de tous les acteurs sociaux qui constituent l'environnement. Au niveau du trait d'union siège la conscience, définie comme le lieu des contenus psychiques faits à la fois de représentations et de formes symboliques .

Les démarches de Malglaive et d'Honoré visent donc, au moyen de la réflexion et à partir de l'action, d'objectiver cette dernière et de formaliser ses savoirs en articulation avec les savoirs théoriques, ceci dans le but de mieux la comprendre et de la rendre efficace et de l'ouvrir à des possible. Aussi dans les buts de lier le savoir à l'expérience et de développer des compétences cognitives et intellectuelles chez l'adulte. Ils allouent un rôle essentiel à l'énonciation dans ces processus, au moyen d'un apprentissage guidé à partir de la pratique, dans des situations concrètes. Alors il y a articulation de la situation de formation et de la situation de travail.

Des questions demeurent cependant. Est-il possible de contrôler l'action maintenant qu'il est convenu qu'elle est complexe et souvent imprévisible dans des situations de travail changeantes? Mettre l'accent sur les dimensions cognitive et psychique de la réflexion n'est-ce pas occulter d'autres de ses dimensions? Deux autres questions se posent. Comment motiver le praticien à réfléchir sur la pratique?

Comment concevoir des dispositifs de formation articulant la situation de formation à celle de travail dans l'entreprise où les processus de production et de formation demeurent séparés, où les structures demeurent rigides, où l'intérêt exclusif pour le faire ne favorise pas la réflexion et la manifestation de discours sur la pratique ?

En guise de conclusion

Nous observons donc que les chercheurs dont nous avons étudié les écrits ont voulu, par l'objectivation de l'action et la formalisation de ses savoirs implicites, dégager des règles, des savoirs et des théories pour la rendre plus efficace. Ils se proposent aussi d'aider l'acteur a prendre conscience pour qu'il comprenne mieux l'action et lui donne sens. Les démarches proposées différent cependant et, en général, peu d'outils accompagnent ces démarches. Par ailleurs, nous observons que les chercheurs accordent inégalement de l'intérêt pour la complexité de l'action, qu'ils veulent cadrer dans des modèles.

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CULTURAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF LITERACY: THE CASE OF O. J. SIMPSON

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Analysis of the literature emanating from the trial of O. J. Simpson reveals competing constructions of Simpson as USC alumnus, sports personality and celebrity and as an uneducated functional illiterate. Simpson's popular persona and literacy are shown to be the social and cultural constructions of interest groups.

Many authors have argued that literacy is socially constructed and not an objective state (Wason-Ellam, Blunt & Robinson, 1995). The view of literacy as socially and culturally constructed incorporates a wide range of explanatory positions: an attention to power at one extreme (the power to define who is or is not literate), to objective measures that seek to enumerate and quantify tasks that require literacy in order to function in contemporary society (the concept of functional literacy) at the other extreme. My purpose in this paper is not to enter into the debate over which dimensions determining the social construction of literacy are more important or more primary. Rather I wish to further complexify and reproblematize the question of how literacy is socially and culturally constructed and for what purposes.

Although the social construction of literacy has received widespread attention and support from adult educators, this paper draws attention to the frequently underrecognized importance of cultural representations in shaping constructions of literacy. When I began this research I was interested in examining Simpson as an example of an individual who had attended university but who was, reportedly, still functionally illiterate. The analyses of the Simpson trial provided an unusual opportunity, I thought, to understand how it was that Simpson like other successful illiterate persons could "pass" in society as literate. If I could discover how he disguised his illiteracy, then I might shed new light on the concept of functional literacy, as well as add empirical evidence for understanding coping strategies of those categorized as "illiterate".

The case of *People v. Orenthal James Simpson* generated a massive amount of information on Simpson's personal life and I had originally accepted the portrayal of "O. J." as the epitome of the educated but "dumb jock" in his various incarnations as an alumnus of the University of Southern California, football hero, media celebrity, millionaire and murderer who escaped criminal conviction. However, as my reading progressed, my original research question had to be set aside, and my notions of "literacy" and "illiteracy" generally and more specifically in regard to Simpson were challenged. My perception of Simpson as "O. J. the dumb jock" in fact, did not fit his portrayal in the popular media and in the texts that I analyzed, I found that he was portrayed in contradictory ways and that his popular persona was culturally constructed to suit "other" agendas. Issues around whose interests are served became central to this research. Secondly, I found that the concept of "literacy" actually became central to the selection of jurors in the Simpson trial, in surprising ways. The reports written by insiders to the trial revealed that the extensive search for jurors resulted in a panel whose members did not read frequently, or widely, and who were not well educated. The Simpson trial and its manipulations of literacy, citizenship and justice that this analysis reveals ought to alert critical adult educators to rethink their rhetorical strategies for advocating increased literacy for citizenship in democratic societies.

Orenthal James Simpson was born in San Francisco's Potrero Hill neighborhood, a low income, public housing community. He didn't like school and it was only his interest in sports that motivated him not to drop out. He also attributed his abilities and potential for a future career in sport as the factor which saved him from getting a criminal record, "If I hadn't been on the high school football team, there's no question but that I would've been sent to jail for three years" (Playboy, 1976). He graduated with a C minus average:

> *His grades may have been poor, but so was his choice of subjects. He never liked shop, and so his transcript included courses like homemaking (blush) the kind of subjects guidance counselors often load on ghetto kids to keep them eligible for sports and provide enough credits so they can be moved along out of the school system with a diploma* (Fox, 1974: 24).

Simpson's grades were so poor that his only choice, if he was to pursue a football career after high school, was to continue in the junior college system. He enrolled in City College of San Francisco (CCSF) where for two years he took courses to make up deficiencies in his high school program and played football. From CCSF he entered the University of Southern California (USC) as a student in public administration with a full scholarship (Weller, 1995). USC was a private university focusing, at that time, on building its endowment fund and reputation through its football program (Toobin, 1996). Known as an elite school socially rather than academically because of its history of enrolling students from the established, upper and middle classes, the student newspaper profiled Simpson in a patronizing assessment, "His environment shows through in his grammatical inconsistencies in his deep, rumbling speech, but he absorbs and understands as well as any man" (Weller, 1995: 72).

In Simpson's junior year USC won the Rose Bowl, the national college championship game, and in his senior year he easily won the Heiseman Trophy, the coveted annual award given to the best national college football player of the season. Simpson's early biographers (Fox, 1974; May, 1974) do not mention that he did not graduate from USC, but earlier, he had told Young (1969) that he planned "... to make up the remaining requirements for a degree during off-seasons from pro-football" (p. 25). It is difficult to see how Simpson intended do that as he actively sought many contracts for commercial sponsorships, movies and speaking engagements which required commitments both during the football season and the off season. Simpson later acknowledged he dropped out in 1969 because, "Things just got too busy" (Simpson, 1995). After USC he earned the recognition and respect of sports fans by becoming the best running back in professional football history. Following retirement from football he remained a highly popular public figure as a sportscaster, sports celebrity and part-time actor. While his family's economic circumstances may have prevented him from gaining a good education as a youth, a shortage of resources and time cannot explain his decision as a millionaire, to remain only partially literate. Many writers attest to his intellectual capacity, his oracy, strength of character and interest in his self image. Yet he did not value literacy sufficiently, to be willing to work to acquire it when the opportunities were present in his adult life.

As a handsome, eloquent, apolitical black sporting hero Simpson was, and continues to be, frequently acknowledged as an alumnus of USC. For example, in the first sentence of the brief biography on the dust cover of *I want to tell you* (Simpson, 1995), the text states that "O. J. Simpson attended the University of Southern California, where he was named an All American and won the 1968 Heiseman trophy." He had been recruited from CCSF by USC with the "assistance" of millionaire Wayne Hughes (Weller, 1995) and although he held the credentials for entry, based on his level of literacy in 1994, it is highly likely that his academic performance at that time fell short of normally accepted standards for admission. "Simpson received virtually no education at USC. Even today he can barely write a grammatical sentence" (Toobin, 1996: 48). Simpson's attendance at USC had nothing to do with his intellectual development and education, and everything to do with a private compact around institution building and future sports commercialism. As a private institution USC profited greatly from Simpson's success as a football player. As the statement in his approved biography confirms Simpson was aware that USC, like other institutions, "wanted his body". Simpson profited from USC's largesse and the opportunity that particular University provided for him to directly enter a professional football career with the best possible contract. The interests of USC were served in building its endowment with the money generated from the commercial success of its football program. Simpson's "scholarship" was the *quid pro quo* for his success on the football field, the price paid for a sports commodity to serve the financial goals of a university which had as its mission the higher education of youth from a more privileged race and class. Being a USC "alumnus" provided Simpson a status that was unquestioned as being equivalent to that of a USC graduate.

Only during the case of *People v. Orenthal James Simpson* did it become public knowledge that Simpson was not fully literate and verbatim examples of Simpson's writing can now be found in several books published after the trial. Three days after the murders of Nicole Brown Simpson and Ronald Goldman, Simpson wrote a letter, later referred to by the media as "the suicide letter." The handwritten letter was read aloud by Simpson's friend Bob Kardashian at a news conference during the period when Simpson was eluding arrest. The 648 word letter has over 40 spelling mistakes, excluding the incorrect spellings of the names of several of his close friends and first ex-wife, and numerous punctuation and grammatical errors. Several words and phrases are crossed out and the whole letter is printed in capital letters. The letter was so poorly written that Kardashian "an educated and articulate man, stumbled over many words and struggled to find the right inflection" (Roeper, 1995). Toobin (1996) concluded that Simpson was a "terrible writer and speller, so it is difficult to draw any conclusions from his errors except about his near-illiteracy". The press however, edited the letter extensively and created the impression that Simpson was far more literate than he actually was (Toobin, 1996):

> *... virtually every news organization in the country cleaned up Mr. Simpson's language. Newsweek's editors not only corrected his spelling mistakes they also restructured some sentences for clarity's sake.* (Roeper, 1995).

Robert Shapiro, Simpson's lawyer, also wrote a book which according to the publisher's cover text, "With candor, wit and compassion, ... brings to light the details of what has been called 'the trial of the century' giving us revealing glimpses of the defendant and others ..." (Shapiro, 1996). However, Shapiro's reference to the letter is far from revealing, he describes it only as "handwritten, and quite long" and the text of the letter included in the book is a heavily edited version of the original with revised paragraph structures and the spelling, punctuation, and syntax errors corrected.

In *I want to tell you* (Simpson, 1995), Simpson declares his reading interests and his source of knowledge about DNA, "A lot of the evidence is going to be DNA. There's going to be a lot on both sides. What's funny about this is that I have read about this DNA stuff. I read mystery books all the time" (Simpson, 1995, pg. 92). *I want to tell you* was actually written by a professional writer, Lawrence Schiller, who recorded approximately twenty hours of interviews with Simpson in prison. Although Simpson had a good deal of time on his hands he wrote none of the text. Schiller gave Simpson written questions in advance but the responses were all oral and Simpson appeared to be incapable of organizing his thoughts, a major prerequisite for writing;

> *What came forth was a flood of words. ... He spoke so quickly, like torrents cascading from a ruptured dam, that I soon had to interrupt him and try to channel his thoughts. ... It was hard work for O J his mind wandered. ... I could see that he had answered [my written] questions, not in neat numbered paragraphs, but in a[n oral] kaleidoscope of anguish and emotion.* (Simpson, 1995).

All of the examples of Simpson's verbatim writing, with one exception (Bugliosi, 1996), appear in books which conclude the trial was a miscarriage of justice and none of the books sympathetic to Simpson's acquittal include such examples (Shapiro, 1996; Schiller & Willwerth 1996; Uelman, 1996). Simpson's legal supporters masked his illiteracy while his opponents exposed it. Why did the national media, Simpson's friends and his defense attorney choose to misrepresent Simpson's literacy? The answer appears to be to protect his media constructed image.

> *Forget the debate about whether he's guilty or innocent. Just think for a moment about a 47 year old man - a University of Southern California alumnus, a TV commentator and film*

> *actor who made his post sports living as a communicator, who has tasted all the riches the world has to offer - but apparently never learned to write beyond the third grade level. It's sad that anyone would consider such a man to be a hero or role model, even if he has never been charged with anything more serious than jaywalking.* (Roeper, 1995)

Simpson's public persona was a media pop-culture construction and the media maintained its representation of him as articulate and literate because doing so served its own interests. Further, Simpson's lawyers used the press to maintain the public image of their client as an "African-American of stature" knowing there was a journalistic double standard when writing about race:

> *According to these informal standards, white reporters can write with candor about the intellectual limitations of their fellow whites, but not blacks. ... Indeed, it is thought to be flirting with a charge of racism to draw attention to the intellectual limitations of any African-American, especially a prominent one like Simpson. So accepting the idea of Simpson as the peer of his attorneys relieved the mainstream press of confronting the obvious truth about him - that he was an uneducated, semi-literate ex-athlete who could barely understand much about the legal proceedings against him* (Toobin, 1996).

One of the arguments made frequently in support of literacy education as a basic human right and as a social purpose of adult education is that literacy enables persons to exercise their democratic rights and to become good citizens. Literacy is assumed to carry with it knowledge of civic institutions and social practices, an enhanced capacity to solve problems, and to think logically and clearly, all attributes one might wish for in a jury. Because jurors carry with them into the court room their cumulative life experience, their knowledge of human nature, their insights into the social world, their values and attitudes, their ability to follow arguments, weigh the importance of events and make reasoned balanced judgments around complex issues which might determine the life or death of an individual there is a widespread assumption that literate and well educated jurors would better serve the interests of justice than functionally illiterate and poorly educated jurors. However, the Simpson case clearly reveals this assumption to be false.

Judge Ito ordered a jury pool of one thousand persons, and distributed a one page questionnaire which sought to determine whether serving on the jury would be a hardship. From this first review three hundred persons were retained for further consideration. Referring to jury selection practice in Los Angeles Clark (1997: 186) states, "if one candidate with a college degree ever made it through hardship and the gauntlet of defense challenges, we always regarded it as a miracle". Judge Ito coordinated the development of a joint court, prosecution and defense questionnaire which each of the remaining three hundred potential jurors was required to complete. The first draft was 125 pages long, however the final version was reduced to 79 pages and 294 questions (Shapiro, 1996). One juror claimed it took him over four hours to complete it (Knox, 1995). The questionnaire contributed to the exclusion of marginally literate jurors who could not complete it satisfactorily, and the most literate jurors as those who reported reading daily newspapers and watching major news programs were excluded because their perceptions of the case had been potentially influenced by the extensive media coverage. According to Clark, "The defense didn't want anyone with an IQ above room temperature" (Clark, 1997: 199). Those jurors selected got their information primarily from early evening tabloid news programs. One seventy two year old, African-American, female juror stated that she never read anything "except the horse sheet". Later in an interview about the jury's verdict she stated "I didn't understand the DNA stuff at all. To me it was just a waste of time" (Bugliosi, 1996: 99). Twelve questions sought information from prospective jurors about their knowledge of DNA and mathematics. Responses to these questions were used to exclude those persons who claimed any such knowledge, hence excluding those with higher levels of education in mathematics and science. One of the jurors dismissed by the defense was a chemistry student from UCLA. The jurors selected were, according to those writers critical of their verdict, not highly literate, educated persons with an established ability to understand complex forensic evidence, they were in fact exactly the opposite.

Bugliosi (1996), the prosecutor at the Manson trial, wrote, "What I saw was jurors who ... clearly did not have too much intellectual firepower"(22).

This case holds several implications and questions for Canadian adult educators. The reversal of commonly held assumptions about the value of literacy and education in juridical processes and the lack of evidence to support the justificatory rhetoric of adult educators in this regard raise intriguing questions? To what extent are Canadian juries, or other social justice and equity panels, experiencing a "dumbing down" process as professionals seek to achieve our communities' social equity and justice goals? Does our rhetoric for the advancement of literacy in a democratic society reflect reality? Do the Canadian media operate with the same, or a similar, double standard as the US media when writing about the educational status of prominent visible minority persons? What are the implications of such a practice for the critical assessment of public questions and representation should persons of visible minority status be treated so differently?

Finally, the link demonstrated between the cultural construction of literacy and commodification merits closer attention. Aspects of the context in which Simpson acquired his education are neither geographically or culturally distant. Corporate agendas and commercialism continue to make advances across Canadian campuses increasing the possibilities that our universities' ideals will succumb further to the ledger lobby. Currently the University of Ottawa's football program is under investigation by the Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union (CIAU) for using four academically ineligible players between 1993 and 1997 with similar offenses being reported in prior years by UWO and Bishops (Globe & Mail, 1998). Whose interests are served when ineligible students are recruited to play for Canadian university football teams?

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Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition: Issues for Adult Educators

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Abstract: Increasing pressure is being brought to bear on the educational establishment to grant credit for informal and nonformal learning. Adult educators, many of whom have long recognized the value of prior learning, tend to support such Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR) initiatives without reserve. This paper argues for a more critical evaluation of PLAR.

Résumé: De plus en plus de pression est faîte sur l'établissement d'enseignement pour reconnaître la valeur des études nonformelles ainsi que la formation professionnelle. Les éducateurs d'adultes, dont plusieurs ont depuis longtemps identifie la valeur des études antérieures, tendent a supporter de telles initiatives, soit l'evaluation et la reconnaissance des acquis (L'ERA). Cet article est une argumentation pour justifier une évaluation critique de L'ERA.

A Question of Value

PLAR is the expression of a desire, a desire that is everywhere shared but, as yet, nowhere agreed upon. Contention is greatest between those who wish *to establish* a standard that all forms of learning can be measured against, and those who wish *to maintain* a standard favoured by the academic community. Variously labelled as too "subjective," too "idealistic," and/or too "elitist," the latter standard has fallen from grace—too subjective because it varies in its application; too idealistic because it does not lend itself to measurement; and too elitist because it attributes greater worth to formal learning than either nonformal or informal. Such criticisms of the existing standard, however, in conflating ontological questions of *truth* with moral questions of *justice*, have resulted in an unlikely alliance: promoters of *scientism*,[1] those who seek a *material* standard that is amenable to measurement; and champions of social justice, those who seek an *invariant* standard that remains constant from place-to-place and time-to-time, have joined forces to lobby for a new measure of learning's worth. This confluence of interests manifests itself in a common desire: the transparent exchange of any one form of learning for any other. Although seemingly innocent, this largely unacknowledged desire may well be shaping PLAR and other educational initiatives in a manner that adult educators have not anticipated.

The Perils of "Opening Shop"

Hanson (1997, pp. 10–11) reminds us that the practice of "flexible assessment" is not something new to Canada's educational establishment. She notes that her own university, Simon Fraser, has waived course prerequisites and allowed course challenge exams for twenty years or more. Athabasca University, Canada's Open University, has also offered credit for prior learning since its inception some 28 years ago. These institutions are not alone. What *is* new is an increasing pressure to "operationalize"[2] the practice of flexible assessment under a single nomenclature: Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR).[3] Pyrch (1997, p. 106) points out that "while setting standards may be helpful..., the danger lies in standardization. When do standards become STANDARDS?" He cautions, moreover, that "this is a valid question when addressing PLA, for there are issues of power and control here." Indeed, the move to operationalize PLAR signals a significant shift in power and control: from a situation where the relative worth of learning is *assessed* by individual faculty within university and college departments, to one where its relative value is *calculated* according to a formula—a shift from people to things.[4] It is this shift, according to Hanson, that many faculty find unsettling. Academics caution that "it's one thing to deal with self-motivated student requests, but quite another to set up shop," warning that "misunderstanding can ensue from promotional materials suggesting that experiential and classroom learning are equivalent (especially at the course level) when more often they are complementary." Despite these warnings of incommensurability, Hanson notes "the tendency of the PLA movement to dismiss faculty reservations such as these as self-interested or resistant to *necessary* educational reforms" (emphasis added).

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[1] Habermas (1972, p. 4) defines *scientism* as: "the conviction that we can no longer understand science as *one* form of knowledge, but rather must identify knowledge with science."

[2] Marcuse (1964, p. 13) explains operationalism thus: "We evidently know what we mean by length if we can tell what the length of any and every object is, and for the physicist nothing more is required. To find the length of an object, we have to perform certain physical operations. The concept of length is therefore fixed when the operations by which length is measured are fixed; that is, the concept of length involves as much and nothing more than the set

Those who deem educational reforms *necessary*, however, are not motivated by the broader pedagogical concerns of academics but by an unrelenting desire: to facilitate the unhindered exchange of any one form of learning for any other. But this desire may not be explicit; in fact, such reforms tend to be advanced in the name of establishing a more "realistic" or "democratic" measure of learning's worth—more realistic because *measurable*, more democratic because *consistent*. Consequently, advocates of scientism and proponents of social justice find a standard that resorts to "complementarity" sorely lacking. Educational reforms are thus deemed *necessary* because transparent exchanges only become possible when a standard that restricts such exchanges is replaced by one that facilitates them. But is this *necessary* standard any more realistic or democratic than the academic standard it seeks to supersede? This is an important question that those seeking to establish the relative value of formal, nonformal, and informal learning tend to skirt.

What Do "Learning Outcomes" Measure?

Hanson (1997, p. 11) remains suspicious of PLA initiatives designed to measure learning's worth with clinical precision: "rigorous though the technical requirements of PLA may be, they are of little help without a clear understanding of what they are measuring against and why." These "technical requirements" are most often competency-based "learning outcomes," instruments that purport to measure the very "essence" of learning—that which all forms of learning have in common. But what *precisely* is it that learning outcomes measure, and what do they measure this against? In fact, what learning outcomes and other PLA instruments purport to measure, and to measure against, is nothing more than an *immaterial* idea. This far from "realistic" standard is an abstract *ideal* that is much farther removed from lived-experience than the academic standard condemned as too "idealistic." What learning outcomes measure is an *idea* of learning, the idea of "learning-in-general," an *ideal* that is extrapolated from many concrete instances of learning but *actually* present in none. This idea is simply *posited* as a *property* of learning—a "thing of

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of operations by which length is determined. In general, we mean by any concept nothing more than a set of operations; *the concept is synonymous with the corresponding set of operations*" (Bridgman, cited in Marcuse). Operationalism, then, demands "a far-reaching change in all our habits of thought, in that we shall no longer permit ourselves to use as tools in our thinking concepts of which we cannot give an adequate account in terms of operations."

[3] This is the prevalent term in Canada; other terms include: prior learning assessment, PLA; accrediting prior learning / assessing prior learning, APL; accrediting prior experiential learning & assessing prior experiential learning, AEPL; recognition of prior learning RPL.

[4] The term "worth" is used to indicate the "use-value" of an instance of learning; the term "value" to indicate its "exchange-value"—its *relative* worth when particular instances of learning (whether formal, nonformal, or informal) are exchanged one for another.

substance" inherent in the very fabric of learning—and, as such, that which is amenable to measurement in learning.

The mental gymnastics required to arrive at such an ideal were first performed by Plato centuries ago, when he formulated his theory of Forms. The average person, however, finds such reasoning neither interesting nor compelling: few, if any, will grant greater credence to ideas than to that which they can see and touch. Proponents of scientism are especially suspicious of idealism, due to its ephemerality; as are advocates of social justice, due to its equivocations. The irony, however, is that one need not ascribe to, nor even be familiar with idealism to *be* a speculative idealist: one need only *act as if* that which facilitates the transparent exchange of any one instance of learning for any other is a *property* of every instance of learning. In actuality, once the desire to exchange any one instance of learning for any other is established, those desiring such an exchange need only act *as if* this belief is true to confirm its validity—"the proof of the pudding" proves, so to speak, to be "in its eating.[5]

Realists in Theory, Idealists in Practice

That what we are is a function of what we do and not what we think is one of the remarkable findings Marx unearths in his analysis of the "commodity form." But how could someone *believe* themselves to be one thing—a realist—yet *actually* be another—a speculative idealist? This is not so far fetched as it may sound; in fact, Bay Street—or Wall Street for that matter—is replete with exemplars of this condition. This "schizophrenic" state is, at once, a precondition for and a product of the economic relations that modern societies are founded and sustained upon.[6] It is our desire for the transparent exchange of goods in a market economy, and our willingness to act *as if* this is possible, that perpetuates this paradoxical state of affairs, a state wherein our *actions* are the determining factor of what we are—not our *professed beliefs*. This should not to be confused with Skinnerian behaviourism, however—the distinction is more subtle. It is still *belief* that determines what we are, but not the beliefs we *profess*; it is, rather those beliefs that *motivate* us, our desires—beliefs of which we often prefer to remain unaware.

The way exchange proceeds in economic markets is something everyone is familiar with. In the market, objects are treated *as if* their value is a function of some measurable property that all objects have in common—money. This is not something I need to concern myself with, however, if all I wish to do is trade an object in my possession for some other. Let us pretend for a moment, that we are economists—so we can make some suppositions. Let us suppose we bring four individuals to the market. Three are from the most remote regions of the world and have no knowledge of economics: the first is a shaman, who believes the animal spirits in objects determine their worth—an animist?; the second is the devotee of a divinity, who believes Divine Providence determines the value of objects—a theologist?; the third is an astrologer, who believes that the value of objects is determined by the planets—an astrologist? The Fourth individual is an economist, who believes money determines the value of objects—a realist? All three wish to trade an object in their possession for some other object. All three trade their object for money and then engage in further trade until they have an object they are satisfied with. Since each of the traders *professes* a different belief in how the market works, first, to what degree does their *professed* belief determine what they are—animist, theologist, astrologist, realist? second, to what extent does the *validity* of their professed belief affect the market? The answer to the first question is: not a jot; to the second: not at all.

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[5] The analysis that follows owes much to Marx's investigation of the "commodity form"—as developed in the first chapter of *Capital, Vol. 1*—and Lacan's interrogation of "desire"—as developed throughout his corpus.

[6] I use the term "schizophrenic" advisedly: to denote a "split" between the state of thinking and that of acting; it makes no allusion to the clinical state of schizophrenia.

We can, in fact, *profess* any theory we wish about how the market works, but what we *actually* believe will be revealed by our *actions*. Once we begin to *treat* objects *as if* their value is a function of how much money they bring on the market, we demonstrate the belief that motivates us—*speculative idealism*. We do not even have to *know* what a speculative idealist is to be one. This is the cunning of the market: it allows us to *believe* we are anything we wish—animist, theologist, astrologist, realist, etc.—while compelling us to *be* only one thing—a speculative idealist. More to the point, once market relations are established, objects assume the attributes of people, and people assume those of objects: objects begin "thinking-for-themselves," so to speak, because the market continues to function no matter what people profess to believe; people need only *act*, unthinkingly, one upon the other—because *knowledge* of what exchange is *actually* based on becomes superfluous. What compels everyday realists to act *as if* they are speculative idealists has nothing to do with professed beliefs and everything to do with their desire to exchange objects in an expedient and consistent manner, regardless of space, time, or the nature of the objects to be exchanged.

The Status of Professed Beliefs

The beliefs that motivate us, therefore, do not have to be true—in the sense that they could, *in reality*, be false.[7] However, while our beliefs remain but an *idea* —a fabrication—their *effects* are far from illusory. It is the "truth effect" of our motivating beliefs that should be of greatest concern to us, not the truth of what we profess to believe. We really should, as the worn adage counsels us, "be careful of what we wish for." There is good reason, however, to remain ignorant of our wishes. Consider those proponents of PLAR whose ultimate desire is the fully transparent exchange of any one form of learning (formal, nonformal, or informal) for any other. When they *behave* as speculative idealists, they *can*, contrary to popular belief, "have their cake and eat it too": they can maintain their desire—unrestricted exchange—*and* their self-professed belief—realism. An even more intriguing feature of this schizophrenic state is that simply becoming aware of it does nothing to change it. I can become fully aware that my motivating belief is false and simply choose to continue acting *as if* it were true. This is because continuing to act in that manner supports the desire that gives my life meaning—so much for the pursuit of truth! Even when my actions bring me great discomfort, the need to sustain my desire—the motivating belief that gives my life meaning—may be so great as to prevent any possibility of acting differently—even when to do so would extricate me from untenable circumstances.

From Use- to Exchange-Value

What adult educators are witnessing in the realm of PLAR is a shift that transpired long ago in the market. In his critique of political economy, Marx identified this shift as one from "use-" to "exchange-value." The current standard of exchange in the realm of PLAR is an expression of use-value: "credits." Credits are not the expression of a "universal" feature of learning but of "particular" features *inherent* in, and peculiar to, individual instances of learning. What makes credits problematic for those who desire the transparent exchange of any one form of learning for any other, is the fact that they express a standard that cannot be separated from the conditions in which it is expressed—use-value. In terms of use-value, learning that provides knowledge of how to build an igloo is of great worth in the Arctic, but of little worth in the Sahara; just as knowledge of how to read and write Latin was once of great use if one wished to enter the medical or legal professions, but of little utility for much else. Credits, then, express the worth of individual instances of learning based on how *useful* that learning is, given *where* and *when* the exchange is taking place. Thus, credits are a very *concrete* measure of learning's worth; they hinder the transparent exchange of any one form of learning for any other because they are *too* realistic, *too* concrete a measure of learning's worth. Just as early traders had to assess the worth of the objects they wished to trade in terms of the usefulness of each object at a given time and place, academics assess the worth of individual instances of learning. We may not agree with the value that academics place on one form of learning as opposed to another, but such assessments remain open to challenge and debate—they remain a function of human knowledge and power.

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[7] This is why the "speculators" of Bay Street and Wall Street are exemplary schizophrenics: the speculative idealism they *practice* posits a standard against which *everything* is to be measured: a "general equivalent" of universal proportions—money; the realism they *profess* posits this standard as the actual, that is, TRUE value of all things. This, of course, is the point Marx makes in *Capital*. Marx does not, in fact, suggest that the exchange of commodities be abandoned, only that exchange be based on the value of social labour, not some imagined general equivalent—capital.

Validity versus Desire

Just as use-value "complicates" exchange in the market, because it relies on humans to mediate all exchanges, credits "complicate" exchange in PLAR, because academics must act as mediators. This "barrier" to transparent exchange was removed in the market by *positing* a "general equivalent"—money—that all objects are *reducible to* and *exchangeable in terms of*—traders are no longer needed to determine the relative worth of previously incommensurable objects such as wheat and iron ore. In the market, individuals no longer decide what an object is worth, the market does, and it does so in relation to other objects, in terms of relative value: use-value drops out of the equation and individuals relinquish their place as arbiters of worth. In PLAR, such a shift toward exchange-value is underway. A desire for the transparent exchange of any one form of learning for any other is growing, and it is being rationalized in terms of the need for a more "objective," "realistic," and/or "democratic," measure of learning's worth. The shift to exchange-value should be resisted—*humans* (whether academics or someone else), not *things* should be the ultimate arbiters of worth. It is not the *validity* of the standard that will make the transparent exchange of any one form of learning for any other possible that needs to be challenged, however, but the *desire* for such exchanges. This is where adult educators who wish the worth of learning to remain a function of humans and not things should concentrate their efforts.

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DISTANCE EDUCATION AND LEARNER AUTONOMY: SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT: *No matter how we define distance education, the demands on learner autonomy and the opportunities for increased self-direction appear to be a constant feature of non-contiguous programs. This article discusses some of the implications of learner autonomy and self-directed learning in telematic programs.*

RÉSUMÉ: *Peu importe la définition que l'on privilégie, l'exigence accrue d'autonomie chez les apprenants représente une caractéristique commune des programmes d'éducation à distance. Cet article porte sur les conséquences de cette observation sur la programmation télématique.*

The issue of defining "distance education" has been the object of much discussion in recent years. With the development of new communications media has come the realization that traditional "correspondence courses" are being replaced by new educational models, many of which rely on previously unknown technologies. Rumble (1989) gives us a breakdown of the main features of those curricular activities that are generally described as "distance education".

First, the occasional or permanent separation of teacher and learner, in time and/or in space, is seen as perhaps the most universally agreed-upon defining characteristic of distance education, at least inasmuch as it relates to the "distance" half of the equation. Regardless of other variables in the organization of the programs, for example whether students actually meet at intervals or whether they are in contact with each other during the span of delivery, physical, or geographical distance is seen as a defining factor. The underlying supposition appears to be that the label "distance education" is applied to those curricular activities that can - an do - occur *in spite of* the physical separation between learners and useful learning resources. As we shall see, this may turn out to be less of an issue than anticipated, and the central features of distance education quite distinct from those associated with geography.

For teacher-learner interactions to qualify not only as "distant", but also as "educational", various criteria will, or at least should be applied depending on which definition of education one espouses, and on which author one comes across (Holmberg, 1986; Keegan, 1993). The provision of 2-way communication for example, seems to be a relatively widespread notion among theorists (Rumble, 1986). Other parameters include the use of one or more technical media (including print) and the possibility of mass delivery, the control and influence of an educational institution and the predominance of independent study (Keegan, 1996). Taken together, these elements have served to identify curricular activities that can be called both "distant" and "educational", and to distinguish them from activities that fall in some other category.

Interestingly, each of these defining criteria of distance education can be challenged on the basis that we could easily imagine a particular program that does not conform to one or the other of their prescriptions, while at the same time, arguably, qualifying as *bona fide* distance education. For example, radio productions for health promotion are usually referred to as educational programs, while they do not provide for "two-way communication". Grass-roots community activities that have resisted all recuperation by colleges and universities nevertheless claim appartenance in a very real educational tradition - although they can hardly be said to be "under the control of an educational institution". Similarly, the "industrialization" of learning programs (i.e. the fragmentation of teaching tasks and division of labour), and the "independent study" criteria could be overlooked or eliminated entirely, as is the case with computer conferencing networks, without anyone seriously entertaining the idea that they reside outside the realm of "distance education". The only exception to this lack of absolutes is that in all cases, some kind of communication medium other than face-to-face speech is employed. But if we are to consider ordinary mail correspondence as a "technical medium", then we might as well accept that ordinary speech is also, in itself, a "medium" used to convey ideas and emotions. Figure 1 lists the defining features of distance education found in the literature, and gives an example and a counter-example for each.

Fig. 1: What is "distance education"?

Defining feature of distance education	**Examples**	**Counter-examples**
Geographically remote	Learner in one location, teacher in another	In-house computer-based training program
2-way communication	Written or spoken feed-back from instructor	Mass media educational campaigns
Use of 1 or more technical media	Computer messaging or teleconference	Ordinary speech seen as a "medium"
Mass delivery	Large scale print or computer based training	Individualized instruction
Control of educational institution	University credits for off-campus courses	Grass-roots community development
Predominance of independent study	Learners studying at home by themselves	Computer network or study group

Transactional distance

Some authors have attempted to reframe the concept of "distance" by emphasizing the pedagogical aspects of the teacher-learner transaction. According to Moore and Kearsly (1996) we must consider "the subset of educational events in which the separation of teacher and learner is so significant that it affects their behaviors in major ways...In short, the *transactional distance* is such that special organizational and teaching behaviors are essential" (p.200). Moore (1972) first picked up on the idea of transactional distance, which he defined as the collection of factors that contribute to increase the communication gap between teacher and learner. More specifically, the degree of transactional distance is determined by the presence (or absence) of *dialogue* and by the extent to which a predetermined *structure* is built into (or lacking from) the learning activity.

Moore purports that high structure and low dialogue account for increased levels of transactional distance. Conversely, transactional distance can be reduced with an increase in dialogue and a minimizing of course structure. While the extent of both structure and dialogue can vary from course to course, low transactional distance would imply continuous dialogue with the instructor and the opportunity to alter the instructional materials to meet the individual learning needs.

Learner autonomy

In regard to the pedagogical responsibility taken on by autonomous students, Wedemeyer (1973) considered the concept of learner independence, leading to self-directedness or learner autonomy. Moore (1972) cited learner-autonomy as the "second dimension" of independent study, which allowed for the development of programs that correspond to various levels of learner autonomy either anticipated or allowed.

However, there is some confusion regarding the effect of structure and dialogue on the requirement for learner autonomy. When structure is high and there is no opportunity for modification or discourse, learners must acknowledge their own educational needs and make their own decisions regarding their level of commitment to the program. According to Moore (1972), the greater the transactional distance, the more considerable the degree of learner responsibility that must be applied. However, distance education programs have mostly been criticized for their intractable designs which foster learner dependency, rather than learner autonomy. Moore himself (1986) stated that "Distance education and open learning programs are predominantly designed for students to be passive recipients of *pre-packaged past knowledge*"(in Kasworm/Yao, 1992, p.1)

In other words, the more highly autonomous the learners, the greater is the distance they can be comfortable with -- that is, "the less the dialogue and the less the structure."(Moore/Kearsley, 1996, p.206) As well, "if there is neither dialogue nor structure, they must make their own decisions about study strategies and decide for themselves how to study, when, where, in what ways, and to what extent."(Ibid., p.204)

But Moore had previously stated that *high structure* and less dialogue (seen as increased transactional distance) require enhanced learner autonomy. And "where less or little dialogue is possible or permitted, the course materials are tightly structured...but without the possibility of the individual learner modifying this in dialogueue with the instructor....In highly distant programs...learners have to take responsibility for making judgments and taking decisions about study strategies."(Moore, 1993)

Thus, learner autonomy is seen as a requisite in *highly structured* situations, where the learner must compensate for the lack of pedagogical flexibility. Simultaneously, learner autonomy is seen as indispensable when the learner must deal with a *lack of structure*. This shows two very different views of learner autonomy: on the one hand, autonomy is a requirement for following a rigid set of learning activities. On the other, autonomy flourishes in an environment where there are minimal barriers to individual expression and control.

Learning as action

Kasworm and Yao (1992) suggest that the format of distance education programs should include a structure that encourages the learner to become pro-active in assuming various learning strategies, committing him/herself to the life-long goal of self-directed learning, as opposed to what Freire calls "banking education". The question is, if learner autonomy is construed as having a contradictory relationship with the fundamental features of distance education, how does one "encourage pro-active learning strategies"?

In the past, distance education literature has relied on models that situate learning independently from the intuitive interactions that occur between a learner and a human instructor. Because of this limitation, considerable attention has been given to theories of cognition that consider the process of learning as an intermediary between the *input* (i.e. the stimuli found or deliberately placed in the learning "environment") and the *output* (i.e. the learner's response to the stimuli - behaviors that show that learning has occurred). Recent theoretical developments in distance education seem to share this mechanistic outlook by stating that features of a learning environment, such as dialogue and structure, are related quantitatively to learning outcomes.

However, some authors point to the weakness of considering the act of learning merely as a causal link between a stimulus and a response.

For Kegan (1982), the act of making *meaning* combines the information processing capacities of the mind with the more fundamental experience of making sense of our own and others' perceptions, emotions and actions. In essence, "...the evolution of the activity of meaning (can be) ... taken as the fundamental motion in personality" (p. 15). The notion of meaning-making thus transcends the mere elaboration of knowledge in the sense employed by constructivists.

> *Meaning is, in its origins, a physical activity (grasping, seeing), a social activity (it requires another), a survival activity (in doing it, we live). Meaning, understood in this way, is the primary human motion, irreducible.*
> (Kegan, 1982, pp. 18-19).

By considering this particular form of meaning-making as the "irreducible" factor of human understanding, Kegan redefines the act of learning as a fundamental (indeed *the* fundamental) psychological impulse. In a similar perspective, Reed (1997) distinguishes between the notion of learner as *receptor* and as *perceiver*: "A perceiving organism is and should be an active, motivated observer, one that is hunting for stimulation, not passively receiving stimuli. *Stimuli may exist for receptors, but they do not exist for perceivers.*" (p. 268. Italics mine).

For Mele (1997), action philosophy carries considerable portent for learner-determined learning. For example, a causalist perspective which would attribute an action to a person's intentions or "reasons" for doing something can be opposed to a non-causalist perspective which considers the subject's intentionality as an *undetermined* event (i.e. which does not rely on a particular antecedent condition), thereby contributing little to our understanding of the chain of events that "caused" the action (Ginet, 1990). Taken together, these non-deterministic perspectives of "meaning-making" require that we adopt an interpretive approach for understanding specific learning "actions".

Conclusion

Human consciousness is not a passive object which can be observed from the outside. Rather, our thoughts consist of a fluid, ongoing process, that "...performs an *action* which is that of knowing" (Russell, 1955, p. 840. Italics mine). In this perspective, human knowledge is a subjective entity, indissociable from human experience. Indeed, May (1996) asserts that action and actor are a function of each other: "...the very consciousness which formulates an individual's ends cannot take place outside of the context of the action itself." (p. 39). One implication for research is that the learner's perceived reality is intimately related to his/her actions, to the extent that the instructional environment plays a secondary role to the learner's own symbolized understanding of the ambient context. This could explain the fact that adverse conditions are cited by self-directed learners as factors that promote, rather than hinder their learning (Bouchard, 1994). Another implication is that learning actions cannot be separated from their interpretation by the learner. Research into the various learning styles (Claxton, 1987) have shown that deep learners are very articulate when it comes to "explaining" how/why they learn. Surface learners, on the contrary, volunteer less self-interpretation when asked about their learning strategies, which suggests that learning ability is closely related to the ability to describe and explain one's own learning.

The fact that distance education relies on teacher-learner interactions that do not share all of the attributes of spontaneous verbal communication, implies that whatever those interactions are designed to be, they will be based on an *explicit* understanding of the learning transaction (rather than intuitive judgement or spontaneous interaction). This paper has attempted to demonstrate that depending on which model of learning one holds to be closest to reality (i.e. representing our "explicit understanding"), the design, delivery, and outcomes of distance education programs will vary greatly. Another implication is that in the absence of *in situ* teacher-learner interaction, distance programs rely to a greater extent on a correct understanding of learner autonomy for their effectiveness.

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TOWARD A REDEFINITION OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL LEARNING: EDUCATION AND THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE

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Presented at the joint session of New Approaches to Lifelong Learning (NALL) Conference
and The Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE),
University of Ottawa, May 1998.

Abstract

The work of Elders is associated with informal learning. Yet, Elders are keepers of tradition, guardians of culture, the wise people, the teachers (RCAP, 1996). This article describes the context of the work of Elders and underlines the importance of Elder involvement in formal education.

Les Aînés jouent un rôle clé surtout dans l'apprentissage non structuré. Cependant, on les qualifie également de sages, d'enseignants et de gardiens de traditions culturelles (RCAP, 1996). Il s'agit d'un article qui donne un aperçu de l'apport remarquable des Aînés à la société autochtone et qui souligne le rôle important qu'ils jouent dans l'éducation formelle.

This project pertaining to Elders is being carried out as part of the New Approaches to Lifelong Learning (NALL) Project. The NALL project is funded through the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) Strategic Research Networks in Education and Training Grant. The author wishes to acknowledge the support of the SSHRC.

Formal education is recognized in most countries as an important mechanism of socialization, cultural identity, social control, labour force production, social mobility, political legitimation and stimulation of social change (Thomas, 1983; Fagerlind and Saha, 1989). In the white western paradigm of education, formal education is an institutional matter. State sanctioned agencies such as the school, college, university and so on are viewed both as the normative exemplar of education, and the only bona fide value structures within which meaningful teaching, learning and education is perceived to occur. There is a prevailing, often uncontested belief within this tradition, that mainstream schools are universally functional and singular institutions which exist to fulfil the needs of individuals and social collectivities. This pervasive paradigm of education regards schools as the essential institutionalized cultural settings in which formal learning can take place and as the only socially valid settings in which learners can get formally educated.

The process of institutionalization in schooling within this Eurocentric paradigm of education mirrors the beliefs, values, traditions, practices and normative expectations of those comprising the culture of domination. Learning which occurs outside of mainstream organizations, agencies or communities as a result is judged by the culture of domination; hence, invalid for certification, professional recognition or indexes of recognized (legitimated) knowledge; to be informal; a mode of education associated with informal teaching, informal knowledge, informal learning, informal education, and the unschooled.

Knowledge is, hence, commodified, and in the case of degrees, professional offerings, certification and other academic recognitions, which often literally may be exchanged for currency in the form of jobs or licences, includes/excludes who may engage in formal practice. In this paradigmatic model, the ideological emphasis is always on the individual level of attainment; yet, paradoxically, it is in the social institutionalization and regulations, and other forming of time, space and quality of valued knowledge that this western model has a rigid equation and lockstep relation between valid knowledge and formal education with its intended trappings of certification, streaming, segmentation by particular scholarly fields, and so on. One becomes an "expert" within -- and generally only within -- the compartmentalized parameters drawn by this model. Knowledge in this way is ordinated, sorted into hierarchies of sacred and profane; sanctioned and unsanctioned; knowledge versus understandings.

Lost in the valorization of this compartimentalization of knowledge are the histories, biases, beliefs and collectively shared knowledge that organizationally link the individual and group as social extensions of one another. A particular history linked to a unique zeitgeist (world view), and way of processing the world. Western practice of the construction of formal knowledge, of course, was (and is) always riddled with such realities: implied bifercations such as Judeo-Christian -- other as an organization of cosmologies and theology; the primacy of logo -- deductive reasoning and so on. Max Weber and other social scientists often implicitly acknowledge this in dichotomies such as subject-object; verstachen (understanding) versus scientific fact. But, these histories and particularities were relegated as interesting, but beyond the scientific pale. Unlike facts, such understandings were viewed as an embarrassment as to how knowledge was constructed. Yet, it is the sharing, processing, and valoration of such processes that First Nations and Indigenous knowledge encapsulates itself. Elders are valued, at least in part, because they are the carriers and emblems of this communally generated and mediated knowledge. In the western paradigm, such relations and processes of knowledge transmission is "informal". Yet, these same processes are at the heart and soul of what is "formal" to Indigenous knowledge.

Thinking and normative practices in white western institutions, by contrast, structure dichotomization between formal and informal learning. This is not happenstance; to the contrary, they have social intent. Combined, they comprise a dynamic complexity which results in boundary maintenance of unequal relations of power in education and domination, control, marginalization and exploitation of minority groups in society. Schools are sites for reproducing societal inequalities. The dichotomization of formal and informal education can be perceived as a dichotomy of social relations pertaining specifically to the Aboriginal peoples. Eurocentricity has devalued and negated the saliency of non-western forms of knowledge and their relevance to education in North America (Dei, 1996, p. 107). Stated differently and more succinctly, the dichotomy in formal and informal education is also a dichotomy in social power relations. Both exist as dichotomies of Aboriginal and white western world views; dichotomies which are the result of the hegemonic forces of Eurocentricity.

The history of formal education and formal learning under the influence of formal institutions and agencies in Canada, including those of the Government of Canada, provincial governments, the Churches, and provincial school boards, as such learning pertains specifically to the Aboriginal peoples, is a tragically oppressive frequently genocidal history. Formal education, from the banning of the potlash to the imposition of English (or French) at residential schools, is instrumental in the reproduction of inequalities in society. The results of formal education and formal schooling have had devastating effects on the Native peoples. In the wider Canadian society, Aboriginal peoples are the most marginal economic and social group. Education policies and practices in Canada, pertaining specifically to Native children, youth and adults have been and continue to be paternalistic, racist and systemically discriminatory in character (Burns, 1998). Residential schooling, mainstream schooling and master tuition agreement schooling have been used as instruments for achieving cultural genocide of the Native peoples. They have served as oppressive instruments by acculturation, assimilation, integration and an overall intentional eroding of both social cohesion and self reliance amongst the Aboriginal people (Burns, 1997).

Over the past two hundred years, Canadian society has systematically stripped the Native people of their land, their culture, their language, their education, their spiritual beliefs, and their way of life (Chisholm, 1994). The nation state has been unrelenting in its attempts to break the Native spirit. It has used laws, the Indian Act, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), and schools to eradicate the Aboriginal peoples as a distinct and unique peoples (Comeau and Santin, 1995). Virtually, all government organizations have served as instruments in efforts to marginalize the needs, interest, and rights of Native peoples and the formal education system has been among the worst agents of this grim construction (York, 1992).

Aboriginal peoples, in colonized countries have internationally recognized rights to their languages, their cultural practices, their heritage, and their self-determination over their lives, their institutions, and their territory. Mindful of this reality, the federal government of Canada appears to be working towards a reconciliation with the Native peoples.

The Government of Canada provides a partial perspective to the historical legacies of institutionally imposed formal education practices in the following way.

> "Sadly, our history with respect to the treatment of Aboriginal people is not something in which we can take pride. Attitudes of racial and cultural superiority led to a suppression of Aboriginal culture and values. As a country, we are burdened by past actions that resulted in weakening the identity of Aboriginal peoples, suppressing their languages and cultures, and outlawing spiritual practices. We must recognize the impact of these actions on the once self-sustaining nations that were disaggregated, disrupted, limited or even destroyed by the dispossession of traditional territory, by the relocation of Aboriginal peoples, and by some provisions of the Indian Act. We must acknowledge that the result of these actions was the erosion of the political, economic and social systems of Aboriginal people and nations...One aspect of our relationship with Aboriginal people over this period that requires particular attention is the Residential School system. This system separated many children from their families and communities and prevented them from speaking their own languages and from learning about their heritage and culture. In the worst cases, it left legacies of personal pain and distress that continue to reverberate in Aboriginal communities to this day."
>
> (Statement of Reconciliation: Learning from the Past, 1998)

The Aboriginal peoples of North America had their own systems of formal education prior to the arrival of Europeans -- systems which were by all accounts highly successful. After confederation, the British North American Act (1867) gave the federal government jurisdiction over "Indians and lands reserved for Indians", including the formal education of Indian children. Jurisdictional interference on matters pertaining to the schooling of Aboriginal children, youth and adults continues to occur to this day. Aboriginal control of Aboriginal education and devolutionary practices are not necessarily leading to social acceptance of the formal and informal learning and teaching activities and practices which take place in First Nations and/or in Aboriginal communities, organizations and agencies.

The Aboriginal people have long been the object of attempts by state and church authorities to use education to control and assimilate them, not only during the residential school era, but also more subtly today (Royal Commission Report on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). Such issues are central to this dimension of our larger project entitled "Informal Learning Culture Through the Life Course: Initiatives in Native Organizations and Communities" (Burns, Beaudin and Olson, 1997-2001).

Corson (1998), for example, points out that Aboriginal peoples of Canada of all ages, who have Aboriginal language expertise, tend to have learned their language informally through primary group relations and/or informal relations within their community settings. And yet, such bilingual proficiency is rarely recognized in formal institutions in general, and in terms of Aboriginal peoples having the knowledge, expertise or credentials required to teach an Aboriginal language in formal education settings. Elaborated further, there is an overall non recognition of community-based Native education which takes place in First Nation communities as well as in Aboriginal organizations, agencies, and other settings in Aboriginal communities.

Among the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte, for example, the Tyendinaga Elders are walking history books (Brant, 1995). Elders possess formal knowledge and expertise. Through orality, the Elders provide lessons on how to go about living the right life. Elders impart knowledge, values and traditions. They play important roles in correcting misconceptions about the Aboriginal peoples including their beliefs, values, customs, traditions, culture and history. White western ignorance and ethnocentricity have led to the institutionalization of a false logic of prejudice, stereotyping, racism and systemic discrimination directed toward the Aboriginal people. That false logic has been pervasive throughout the formal structures of formal learning in mainstream education institutions.

The Elders are the most knowledgeable people in Aboriginal societies. Yet, what they have come to learn has been learned through informal practices in the course of becoming adults. There is no Aboriginal formal education system for developing the knowledge and wisdom held by Elders. There is also no formal education system in Aboriginal society or in non-Aboriginal society for transmitting the knowledge and wisdom of Elders. How do Elders learn what they know? What do they know? Who do they teach? What do they teach? How do they teach (processes)? What are the impacts of Elders? Where do they teach? What implications does the work of Elders have for developing both new linkages and effective linkages between Aboriginal communities and institutionally sponsored, school-based formal learning? And, how can the work of Elders be deliberately encouraged by education organizations? These are some of the issues being examined in the Burns' dimension of the project; a component of the project which attempts to document the informal teaching practices of Elders, the processes by which they occur, their effects, and their potential implications for formal education.

Why can't the work of Elders be incorporated into the practices of the formal educational system in a way that it contributes valuably to the acquisition of credit in formal courses and/or units of study? There is the need of a self-determination praxis of liberation of Aboriginal peoples in formal education which serves the self-government needs and interests of the Aboriginal peoples as a distinct and unique peoples and which also addresses their concerns for social justice, equity, and power sharing in the larger Canadian society; a society of multiple interests. There is also the need of schooling which helps Aboriginal children, youth and adults learn the skills they need to participate fully in the economy and to develop as citizens of Aboriginal nations -- with the knowledge of their languages and traditions necessary for cultural continuity (RCAP, 1996).

Elders are first and foremost teachers and role models. They teach others about culture, tradition and about the vision of life that is contained in First Nation philosophies and handed down in ceremonies and traditional teaching (Stiegelbauer, 1996). With an overall recognition that the white western paradigm of formal education oppresses and represses the Aboriginal culture, creating an incompatible cultural hegemony through formal schooling which allows Aboriginal children, youth and adults no future short of assimilation and cultural extinction -- formal system of education can work toward greater degrees of Native inclusiveness. Corson (1997) points out solutions are not to be found in approaches which are based on the belief that Aboriginal people can be helped through intercultural communication. Such notions are ethnocentrically naive. They also tacitly embody an ultimate arrogance; if they (Native) really want to know, they should be like us. There is no reciprocal notion that, if we westerners want to know, we should be like them, except -- perhaps -- as a study of an archaic anthropological curiosity; a kind of morphological detailing of some extinct petro cliff. A stone for study which curiously can walk, talk and gather. The scope of radical differences between Aboriginal sign systems and European sign systems including their beliefs, values and normative practices is so great that it would take an entire lifetime to grasp them (Wertheim, 1995).

Native thinking processes, bodies of knowledge and structures of knowledge transmission are uniquely different from those underpinning white western institutions. Relatedly, Aboriginal world views and western world view are in paradigmatic clash. This is an overall clash which has implications as to what gets to be viewed as formal, non-formal, and informal teaching, learning and education in western society as well as to who gets to teach what.

Aboriginal parents and educators want Aboriginal children to learn everything that formal education has to offer, as well as their own culture and way of doing things. Given the devastating effects on Aboriginal children of monocultural education within formal education -- the role of Elders in informal learning and formal education is an area worthy of study in its own right. There is a need of authentic Aboriginal inclusiveness in formal education. Authentic Aboriginal inclusiveness is needed in formal education. Aboriginal inclusiveness has major implications for formal education along the entire education continuum and throughout the life course.

Non-formal education, informal learning and formal education (see Wain, 1987) are socially organized and socially situated practices. The white western paradigm of formal education mitigates against the involvement of Elders in formal education. Obstacles to Elders' participation in formal education must be identified and overcome. Elders are keepers of tradition, guardians of culture, the wise people, the teachers (RCAP, 1996, Vol. 3, p. 525). Aboriginal education, as assimilation, has always failed everywhere, failed miserably and failed destructively; Aboriginal education for self-determination, controlled by Aboriginal people, succeeds (Hampton, 1996). Thus, the importance of this project. The project takes as its point of reference the existence of the Aboriginal peoples as a people who are distinct and unique, Aboriginal right to self-determination, and the inherent right of self-government; and the meaningful involvement of Elders in formal schooling as a new form of emancipatory praxis whose aim is emancipation, self-determination and self-government within the larger Canadian context.

Learning is always socially situated, socially constructed, socially produced and socially validated within social settings which exist as contextual settings. As a result, this dimension of the project also takes as its point of reference socially produced formal, informal and non-formal knowledge, expertise and practices of Elders in four distinct, but inter-related Native settings: a second level of centralized service organization, a tribal council, a First Nation education centre, a Native friendship centre, and a First Nation community.

The project involves considerable conceptual work: conceptualizing formal, non-formal and informal knowledge, teaching and learning (see Wain, 1987) within the context of not only western world view, but also Aboriginal world views; descriptions of the analytic categories and elements around which formal, non-formal and informal knowledge, teaching and learning occurs within Aboriginal contextual settings; descriptions of the analytic categories of Aboriginal world views and Aboriginal epistemologies which contribute to the development of authentic Aboriginal knowledge and to authentic Aboriginal teaching and learning practices.

Within the context of these issues, it is also of vital importance to discover and describe the elements around which Native knowledge is developed and utilized; the historical context of Native knowledge production and use; the social context of Native knowledge production and use today; and both factors and themes pertaining to formal, informal and non-formal knowledge production and use by Elders in both Native and non-Native education organizations alike.

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FEMINIST COMMITMENTS IN ADULT EDUCATION: A CASE OF BANISHMENT OR CONFINEMENT?

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Abstract:

This paper focuses on the ambiguous location of feminism in adult education-a location that, in many instances, more closely reflects a situation of confinement and banishment. We draw attention to the importance of being cautious about our "successes" and to the difficulties of simultaneously working within and without, and, to the possibilities of moving forward despite the current conditions.

Cet article s'intéresse à la place ambiguë du féminisme en sciences de l'education de l'adulte, un place qui, dans de nombreux cas, témoigne d'un état de confinement et de bannissement. Nous portons l'attention sur l'important caractère de discrétion résidant autour de nos "réussites", et sur les difficultés à travailler à la fois avec et sans elles, mais aussi, sur les opportunités d'aller de l'avant malgré la situation actuelle.

Introduction:

The purpose of this symposium is to re-examine the relations between feminism and adult education by refocusing attention on patterns of confinement and banishment and the feminist response to these patterns. The title of this paper is taken from an old feminist critique of 19th century English literature and refers to Bronte's Jane Eyre. Jane Eyre acts as a useful way into the topic of women's confinement/banishment - literal and metaphoric - and the way this is structurally/metaphorically required by traditional male practices, and how these practices are denied and transformed by women (and in this case feminists).

It appears that feminism and feminists have gained a certain degree of access to the discourse of adult education, and that feminist efforts have succeeded in creating certain spaces within and outside the academy. We wonder, however, if instead of progressing toward Jane Roland Martin's notion of epistemological equality, we are confined to spaces where our radical perspective is being managed and contained. We wonder if such efforts to confine us are more effective forms of banishment. Where are we in our efforts to disrupt the persistence of androcentric approaches to discussions about "foundations" of adult education, our efforts to undertake and argue for unorthodox approaches to research, and our struggles to build bridges between theory and practice, between the field of adult education and the academic community? Our key question is what are we to make of feminism as it is currently expressed in the theory, practice and research of education?

Using such metaphoric notions of confinement and banishment as a framework, we as the panelists in this symposium explored a number of arenas of feminist maneuvering: (i) feminism in the academy and the incorporation of feminism within adult education literature, (ii) feminist pedagogy as it is practiced within women's job training programs, and, (iii) feminist research exploring the activities of advocacy organizations working to transform women's economic oppression.

Sue: Longing for the Good Old/Bad Old Days

To the extent that feminism forms part of broader struggles for social justice, there are insights to be learned from feminist attempts to come to terms with the normative cultural imperatives of academia and the "haremization" (Carriere, 1996) of policy and practice. Such struggles offer strategic lessons in the ambiguous interplay of accommodations and resistances central in working through/with broadly conceived emancipatory traditions. As I have argued elsewhere (Collard, 1995), feminism has been incorporated into adult education discourse primarily as a variant of adult education's emancipatory traditions, a manoeuvre which diminishes the radical potential of feminism by ignoring, rather than accommodating, feminisms' transvaluations of adult education's social-theoretical foundations.

Given this, I find myself at this point in time curiously caught between nostalgia and cynicism: nostalgia for the apparent good old bad old days when Adrienne Rich (1980 [1973]) could write of the transformation of the university through its inclusion of various communities of the "underprivileged", including women, the heady days when "developing our own descriptions of the world" (Rich, 1980, p. 208) was, if not sufficient, then a liberating place to begin; cynicism because postmodern currents seem to have flushed away feminisms' optimism along with their metaphysical underpinnings. One of the reasons for my discontent has to be the sense that feminism has become enshrined in the university as a form of professionalized radicalism whose politics is defined by and in terms of the day-to-day conflicts structuring its institutional activities. The dangers inherent in this are duly noted, although not elaborated on, by Stalker (1996) when she states that data on women mentors suggest that while they are far from passive receivers of the patriarchal system, there is some question about the extent to which women within the academy have either the ability or desire to transform it. In brief, feminism has lost something with its success - its naivete, its radicalism, its closer relation with the political discourses of feminism. Rather than women transforming the university, as Rich would have it, it would seem the university has transformed feminism. (Or perhaps Collard qua feminist misreads personal malaise as generic to feminism).

This "loss" may, however, be typical not only of feminism but also of other forms of radical politics that become incorporated into and/or legitimated by academia. Such politics may experience a similar tension between a grounding in the positivity of political action and the negativity of critique, between an affirmative politics and theoretical negations enacted in and upon various discourses (of gender, class, ethnicity, race, sexuality, and so on), with an apparently increasing distance between the two poles. Furthermore, there may also be evidence of an exacerbation of the theory/practice divide that has played out in various arguments between/among feminists and radicals of differing persuasions over the past decade and a half.

That the recuperation of feminism in academia is enabled by women's prior exclusion is a lesson Foucault (1973) points us to in his discussions of madness and reason. Just as the confinement and treatment of the insane was a signal of joint structures of social exclusion, but attempted moral integration into socially required norms, so the carefully cultivated presence of feminism in the university acts as a trace of something many feminists would argue as still outside the realm of discourse, women's "Truth", or "desire" associated canonically with negativity, madness, excess and therefore allowed only under conditions of strictest surveillance, confined, if not banished.

Shauna: Mistaking the Means for the Ends?

The focus of my contribution to this symposium is an exploration of feminist pedagogic practices generally within adult education and particularly within government-funded women's job training programs. The metaphors of confinement and banishment provide a way of viewing the contradictory and ambiguous location of feminists working in such programs which are structured by policies aimed toward short term interventions that result in reduced welfare and un/employment insurance expenditures. The dominant ideology expressed in current labour market policy, I argue, works to *confine* women who do manage to participate in these programs, to poverty and to limited labour market spheres and to the margins of the globalized economy. With changing eligibility criteria, even fewer women can access these programs, problematic though they may be, so that I also see current labour market practices as keys to women's *banishment*, of a further distancing for many women and their families from a world where paid work and the ability to participate in a globalized cash economy are markers for who is considered a citizen, a player, a legitimate actor (Butterwick, 1993).

I am also concerned with the ways in which feminist pedagogic practices within these programs are confined and to some extent depoliticized through the institutional relations which structure this work. There is a focus expressed by feminist educators who work in these programs, on raising the self-esteem and self-confidence of the women who participate in these programs. In these contexts (and in others) much attention is given to creating safe environments, places where women can speak their truths, share their experiences, feel valued and supported in their efforts to change their lives. Creating these kinds of spaces is important, but I am not sure whether leaving such a program with a different sense of self will make much of a difference in being able to access jobs that pay a living wage. Might an increased self-esteem be the outcome of other approaches which focus on analyzing the structures and policies that perpetuate a "jobless" economic recovery and that analyze the social welfare system and how it disempowers communities?

Another issue to be raised using these notions of confinement and banishment is the struggles for feminist adult educators to collaborate and strategize through collective action given the ongoing movement of privatization and competition among providers of programs. Sustaining a feminist vision to one's practice in this context is also threatened by the insecurity most who work in this context feel about their own jobs. Much of this practice exists within the world of short term contractual arrangements with the state where establishing relations with colleagues and with government contacts is a constant challenge given the ongoing restructuring of government departments and constant change to policies and practices.

I do not deny the significance of a nurturing and safe environment as central to women's learning, nor do I want to dismiss the constraints under which feminist adult educators in diverse educational settings operate. I see similar struggles happening to feminist adult educators working in these contexts as those articulated by Sue, that is, has a feminist presence been allowed within these programs, but only under conditions of strict surveillance and confinement? And has such confinement resulted in a ***feminine*** curriculum rather than a ***feminist*** curriculum? Finally, how can one maintain a radical feminist politics in the context of these policies and programs constituted by a particular set of "ruling relations" (Smith, 1987)?

Andrea: Bridging the Great Divide

The tendency toward "banishment" as I experienced it, was expressed within the relationships between myself as a researcher and activists in one of the sites of a research project. The site was an organisation developing and offering educational workshops on the topic of the feminisation of poverty. Within the organisation there was ongoing uncertainty about allowing access to a university-based researcher - even though the researcher was a woman and a feminist. Their hesitation at first was a surprise to me: I had assumed that because the activists were feminists and knew my research approach to be of a critical feminist and qualitative sort, most concerns they may have about being misunderstood, misrepresented, or misused would be adequately met. However, for these activists, a feminist researcher's access to their work still represented the potential dishonouring of their epistemology and possible subversion of their long term goals through the application of an epistemology to which they do not subscribe. My research work was susceptible to banishment from the world of adult education practice - even feminist practice.

An example of the "confinement" I experienced in this group arose from the activists' ambivalence around my participant-observer role in the planning stapes for a two-day popular education workshop, and in my involvement as one of the workshop participants. At one moment I was considered a full legitimate participant, and at the next moment was given a much-reduced role. How can these inclinations toward dismissal or be explained? Part of the explanation of the hesitations by members of an activist organisation about research, I believe, is that in the day-today practice of adult education, feminist practitioners have learned that they cannot assume a single meaning in the monolithic "feminist" identification. They know from experience that in fact, feminists have multiple identifies that must be reckoned with. They are members, or aspiring members, of various social and economic classes, they have ethnic heritages, differing epistemologies, varieties of abilities and ages, as well as a host of other positions, which shape and cause conflict amongst their interests. Activists have learned that they cannot assume that all feminists share their vision or agree with their strategies for making change in society. In addition, they are not only working in a marginal field; they daily meet resistance to their perspectives, goals, and educational methods from the dominant attitudes, policies, and practices of program funders, institutional partners, learners, and sometimes colleagues in adult education. Therefore, it may not be surprising that they might think twice about forming further ambiguous relationships with university-based feminist researchers.

The potential "banishment" and "confinement" of researchers represented by this one story raises challenging questions in feminist theory and adult education research. What interests influence femimist researchers who are located within the academy and to what extent are their interests and methods an artefact of the site in which they work? On what evidence, and under what conditions ought feminist adult education practitioners to be confident that knowledge created, organised, and distributed by university researchers - including feminist researchers - is in the interests of women? How might we openly and seriously meet the suspicions of dedicated practitioners that incline them toward banishing and confining feminist university researchers?

Some direction may be contained within the story. Beyond the moments of hesitation and restriction, extraordinary effort was made on both our parts to "feel our way", moment by moment, toward understanding each other's interests and epistemologies, and to find a way to act out of new and tentative understandings. It was an effort characterised by creativity, courage, and hope that mutuality and reciprocity could be found. It was constituted also by caution, judgement and prejudice and an awareness that there was no recipe for achieving, once and for all, that space between banishment and confinement. Perhaps some of the new theoretical directions for feminist research lie here in the exploration of differences through continuous dialogue, through the embracing of conflict without the comfortable assumption that peace and concord will necessarily be permanently secured.

End notes.....

We believe that exploring the confinement/banishment dance between adult education and feminism is of central importance to the traditions of social justice with which adult education has been allied. We believe this discussion is a way of maintaining some vigilance – a way of examining our own duplicity in the very processes we wish to disrupt and transform. At the same time, we must also ask if we are now policing ourselves as a result of our institutional recuperation, which has affected our sense of what constitutes legitimate theory, practice and research. Like Dorothy Smith we must be cognizant that feminist methodological strategies "do not transform in and of themselves…the critical force of these methods is contained and 'institutionalized' if they are not articulated to relations creating linkages outside and beyond the ruling apparatus (1987, p. 224-225)."

So if there is no recipe for sustaining a radical politics, what to do, what to do…. It does seem crucial that we recognize the difference between engaging in critically reflexive feminist practices and becoming "mad women in the attic", like Bertha Mason (Rochester's mad wife), in Bronte's *Jane Eyre*.

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INNOVATIVE RESEARCH PRACTICES FOR ADULT EDUCATION: CREATING KNOWLEDGE FOR SHAPING THE FUTURE

The purpose of this symposium is to present some new methods of research in adult education.

L'objectif principal de ce symposium est de presenter des nouvelles méthodes de recherche en éducation pour adults.

Paper 1: The Critical Incident Approach to Research

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There is now a renaissance in the use of the critical incident approach to qualitative research. The importance of this renaissance cannot be overemphasized for adult educators --if we are to play a crucial role in helping to create more caring learning communities. As a small part of this renaissance, my own reflective and research practices (Campbell, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c) indicate that the critical incident approach to research holds exciting promise for adult education. Flanagan (1954), who had traced the roots of critical incidents back to literature in the late 1800's, developed the critical incident approach to research for the purpose of identifying effective pilot performance during World War II. Pilots were requested "to think of some occasion during combat flying in which you personally experienced disorientation or strong vertigo... [and describe what you] saw, heard, or felt that brought on the experience " (p. 329). Flanagan analyzed the descriptions and, from them, produced a list of critical components of task performance which were useful for selection and training. The critical incident approach to research was further developed by Flanagan for use with a variety of other content. This approach to research fell into disuse during the 1950's when quantification and experimentation were increasingly emphasized in the social sciences.

After being neglected for many years, the current renaissance of the critical incident approach to research includes Allen Tough's (1982) inquiring into adults' intentional-change learning experiences. This is a form of interpretive inquiry. Stephen Brookfield (1990, 1995) provides critical-incident activities which can be powerful for facilitating deep reflective practices and transformative learning. These activities can be powerful, despite the difficulty of elucidating the assumptions which are embedded in practices. Brookfield (1990) says that critical incidents provide an "incontrovertible source of data representing the learner's existential realities" (p. 180). The learning activities designed by Brookfield appear to hold exciting promise for use in transformative approaches to qualitative research in adult education.

The challenges and difficulties of working with qualitative data are well known to adult educators. Bryman and Burgess (1994), for example, reviewed recent practices which were reported in the literature on qualitative research, and conclude that qualitative data is "invariably described as voluminous, unstructured, and unwieldy... There is reluctance of many (if not most) authors to lay bare the procedures associated with the analysis of data" (Bryman & Burgess, 1994: 216). The same authors report that the analysis of data is often relegated to a separate segment following the collection of large volumes of data. Yet the critical incident approach to research appears to hold exciting promise for reducing the messiness of working with qualitative data. The critical incidents approach to research also appears to hold exciting promise for analysis which is continuous --interwoven with the other aspects of the research process. In addition, the critical incident approach to research appears to hold exciting promise for easy reporting, and ultimate resonation for readers --as one critical experience and its interpretation unfolds after another. This is not to suggest that the critical incident approach to research is without limitations. All approaches to research have their limitations. In the critical incident approach, for example, participants may have difficulty in identifying significant events. Another example is that participants may not be willing to disclose their experiences. Nevertheless, where the critical incident approach to qualitative research is appropriate in adult education, the importance of its renaissance cannot be overemphasized --if adult educators are to play a crucial role in helping to create more caring learning communities.

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Paper 2: Mythology: A Researcher's Guide to Understanding Self

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The purpose of this presentation is to show how mythology can be an important resource in helping researchers and learners gain insights into themselves and to give them support in their quest for self-transformation. Murray Stein (1996) says that: "the ancient Delphi "know Thyself" meant that as human beings we should learn to know our place in the larger scheme of things. Understanding yourself as a human being depends upon knowing yourself in relation to myth" (p. 26). Myths are stories from the past which help us to interpret and make meaning out of our lives. They "do not tell us how, they simply give us invisible background which starts us imagining, questioning, going deeper" (Hillman, 1975, p. 118).

The myth which captures my imagination and which helps me to understand the transformational path as a woman is the myth of the dark Cretan maid Ariadne and the Greek hero Thesesus. Guided by Ariadne's lamp, and her red thread, Theseus finds his way through the labyrinth where he slays Ariadne's half-brother the Minotaur. The slaying of the Minotaur may represent the disappearance of the matriarchy as Theseus continued on to Greece to form the beginning of the patriarchy. Ariadne was, subsequently, abandoned by her hero on the holy island of Naxos where she underwent a process of descending into darkness and being led back into the light where she unites with Dionysos, the Greek God of joy and inspiration. Ariadne's descent is described by Reis (1995) as *"the bite of death"* (p. 204). For women, Ariadne is their guide to understanding the transformation into mid-life. She represents the deepening and maturing of oneself, and the challenge of throwing off patriarchal values in order to reclaim her body and her creativity in order to become her own person.

Expanding this myth to include both men and women in an attempt to understand the age in which we live "Theseus becomes an image of the questing consciousness (the archetypal masculine in everyone) that must journey into the unknown regions of the psyche to seek the treasure at the heart. Ariadne's thread is then the intuition (the archetypal feminine in everyone) that guides the conscious mind through the labyrinthine turnings leading to the source, and which can be trusted to lead us safely back" (Baring, 1991, p, 143).

In terms of evolutionary theory, Teilhard de Chardin (1995) says that we must look within for answers. He says that "right at the base, the living world is constituted by consciousness clothed in flesh and bone. From the iosphere to the species is nothing but an intense ramification of psychism seeking for itself means of different forms. That is where Ariadne's thread leads us if we follow it to the end" (p. 151).

Mythology offers us an opportunity to explore more deeply into ourselves, and to find explanations that might otherwise elude us.

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Paper 3: Heuristic Research: Valuing the Researcher as Person

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The hallmark of heuristic research is the transformation of intensely personal experience, one which is socially meaningful, through deep reflection and extensive inquiry, into an expression of its meaning and essence (Moustakas, 1990). The process begins with an identified concern of the investigator which demands ongoing "self-search, self-dialogue and self-discovery; the research question and the methodology flow out of inner awareness, meaning and inspiration" (Moustakas, 1990, p. 11).

Heuristic research offers a potential for insight and moving forward which is, at this moment in time, an essential offering for our human species. Unquestionably, it has, as all methods of inquiry have, its limitations. This presentation will argue that the subjective nature of the heuristic process is both its strength and its potential weakness (Macdonald, 1996; Mullen, 1985).

The word heuristic evolves from the Greek word heuriskein, which means to discover or to find (Hoad, 1986). In speaking of classical heuristic structures, Lonergan (1978) suggests that the focus of the heuristic inquiry is to discover the nature of the unknown that is to become understood through the process of the inquiry. He also suggests that "the 'nature of...' will be universal, that when one understands these data, then one will understand similar data in exactly the same fashion" (Lonergan, 1997, p. 37). It is through reflecting upon a series of particular experiences, that one approaches a general concept of the experience, a concept that leads to an understanding of the universal dimensions of the experience (Lonergan, 1980).

The power of heuristic research is drawn from the very act of surrender which the researcher must welcome if they are to be true to the heuristic journey. The potential bias of heuristic research emerges from this same act of surrender. As the researcher is invited over and over again to remain in the time and space of surrender, they must continually and continuously choose to surrender to the process, to be true to the spirit of the inquiry. Each step holds within it the potential for moving forward or for hurtling backwards in time. It is a sacred journey.

Heuristic research honours the influence of the subjective on the research process. It seeks not to obliterate the subjective but to treasure the unique perspective through which the essence of the experience will be revealed. The opportunity which the heuristic process offers is one of an integrative wholeness.

Jung (1973) argues that the quest for wholeness demands that more realms/regions of the unconscious become conscious. It is by surrendering to this holistic process that the researcher ignites the potential to expose the essence of the significant human experience, for the essence of an experience is by its very nature holistic.

Paradoxically, the search for essence may at times require that the researcher step back from their own subjective perspective and attend to the subjective experience of the participants/co-researchers in the study. The researcher must be able to achieve this separation, or disidentification, if the validity of the analysis is to be realized. As Sullivan (1990) suggests, the bias of the interpreter is a potential threat to validity in an interpretive psychology.

As I discovered after a heuristic study the researcher knows the experience in a qualitatively different way. There is a depth and breadth of understanding not perviously present, an insight not previously conscious, and always the potential for personal transformation. It is through the dedicated, disciplined, and demanding journey of the researcher that the universal essence of the significant human experience is revealed.

Just as the heuristic process of inquiry has its own unique beginning and its own unique unfolding, it has its own unique ending. The creative synthesis marks the time and space in which the meaning of the essence of the significant human experience is revealed. Frequently this meaning is revealed holistically, which many mean through written academic paper/book, through art, through dance, through spontaneous play or through writing. The creative synthesis, as the culmination of the heuristic research, offers a creative gift to be treasured, a unique gift. During this presentation two creative syntheses, one a quilt and one a story, will be shared and participants will be invited to dialogue with the presenter about the experience of creating the creative synthesis.

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FACILITATING REFLECTION AND ACTION THROUGH RESEARCH

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Abstract: This paper presents an exploration of the challenges when engaging a reflective process in research, where that process takes us in constructing identity and praxis, and how the process of inquiry can become an impetus for change.

Résumé: Cet article présente une exploration des difficultés à surmonter durant un processus de réflexion au cours d'une activité de recherche, lorsque ce processus nous amène à construire une identité et analyse de cette même réflexion, mais aussi sur la manière dont le processus de raisonnement peut se transformer en un élan vers le changement.

REFLECTING ON THE SELF

My challenge began with my own life history; a paper I wrote to locate myself in the research process, to stimulate my ability to reflect, and to substantiate reflection as a central aspect of research. In my case, I wanted to study the institutional responses and the responses of educators in post secondary institutions to the issues of diversity and discrimination. But I could not begin this work without examining my own responses to institutions, change, diversity, and discrimination. What could I learn from my own story and how did that fundamentally influence my self-knowledge and knowledge of others? This was an "unpacking" of myself as well as a way to engage in critical thought about my own motivation: "a reflexive project of the self." (Giddens, 1991, 244)

While writing my own life history, I immersed myself in the subject of biography, narrative, and life history. I began to see connections between my story and the stories of others. At the same time, I saw the potential risk of "storying" each other when engaged in this process. I recognized that we have the capacity to learn about ourselves in reflection, while listening to other people's stories.

I identify myself as a feminist and as a researcher, but this has led to contradictions for me. I began to explore, conceptually, how research participants might benefit from the research process and not be susceptible to the "extraction" paradigm of science and social science. This meant examining the relations of subject-subject and subject-object. How could I be the "good" feminist and not objectify others in the research process? I knew I wanted to move away from notions of "technical rationality" (e.g. following a scientific knowledge prototype) as described by Schön (1983), to a place where reflection would inform the research meaningfully, for the participants as well as myself. I also acknowledged how important it was to explore my subject of enquiry within a context of researcher and the researched (Acker, Barry, & Esseveld, 1996; Gluck & Patai, 1991; Roberts, 1981).

POSITIONING REFLECTION IN RESEARCH

The notion of reflection has a grounding in adult education in which reflection is seen as a critical aspect of practice and learning. Schön (1983) moves from a knowledge-in-action to a reflection-in-action process for the practitioner. Vella (1994) refers to praxis: action with reflection or a process of "doing-reflecting-deciding-changing-new doing" (Vella, 1994,12). This suggests thinking critically about both process and content. As the researcher, I was expected to be reflective and I embraced this notion wholeheartedly. But this left me with a gaping sense of uncertainty as to how I could engage in this practice with my research participants in a genuine and meaningful way. Could this process also be empowering for the individuals where I was building a relationship and in which their experiences were my data?

One of the challenges to reflection is the commodification of time. We live and work in an era where the process of reflection is frequently disregarded and challenged as a "waste of time." This resonates particularly in educational institutions where the language of the day focusses on consumer economies: full time equivalents, expanding class sizes and revenue generation. The managerial culture (Bergquist, 1992) speaks to the notion that the structures of the academy need to be managed, particularly people and money. In this context, time is constructed in a discourse of scarcity.

Another challenge is identifying and addressing any barriers to reflection. Reflection, such as attending to one's own feelings, may not have social support as a worthy activity, thus reflection becomes unacceptable. We internalize these judgements and it makes it even more difficult to be reflective (Newton, 1996). A critical piece is how personal awareness is linked to reflection: "If we are not personally aware that a barrier exists, then how can we possibly seek to overcome it?" (Newton, 1996,143).

I began, thinking hopefully that I would ask my research participants to reflect and therefore generate reflective responses and relationships. One difficulty manifested itself early on, with research participants who came from the perspective where time was a commodity and where disregard for one's own feelings was often normalized. Some of the participants were preoccupied with their work tasks and thus had lapsed in the practice of stopping to think and feel and self-interrogate. I needed to move the researchees and myself to a site where time to reflect was both valued and valuable. One of my own struggles was acknowledging a sense of urgency to "maximize" data collection and how at times this might push me to a place where my imperative was working towards "efficiencies," rather than engaging in the relationship and our mutual and individual reflections.

As well, the reflective research process continued to be contested by a traditional paradigm of researcher and researched. Individual participants had notions of what it meant to participate in research and they determined their role accordingly. They saw me as the researcher and therefore I was determining the inquiry. An inherent contradiction was, of course, that I *had* designed the research and was asking participants to be reflective within the design. Even as we talked about research being "with" and "for" the participants, it became a struggle of how previous conventions dominated current behaviour. I articulated that this was not participatory action research, but it had strong elements of participation and action, which were more consistent with feminist approaches.

DECONSTRUCTING THE QUESTIONS

"Facts are not given, but constructed by the questions we ask of events" (Lather, 1991, 105). I argue that the construction is also dependent on our relationship and contexts within that questioning milieu. If deconstruction means identifying the positional effects that the questions present, keeping things in process, and examining the contexts of knowledge (Lather, 1991), then deconstructing the questions becomes pivotal for influencing reflection. Questions and research relations may otherwise produce impositional knowledge.

The research included group and individual interviews, as well as a document review. I met with faculty, staff and administrators. Each person came with a background (packed or unpacked), their life story, and different levels of self-awareness. All of these factors shaped their institutional stories. Thus, we constructed a variety of "good" and "bad" narratives. I found myself reacting to the "good " and "bad" stories. In my journal, I tried to examine the basis of my strong responses. Was I overtly supporting negative experiences and disbelieving positive ones? Did the researchees have a vested interest in producing a particular kind of narrative?

I began to ask questions such as "How did you feel about that? How does your own experience shape your reaction, what you see and do?" It was not a question of "What happened, what is?" but finding a way to explore internally as well as externally, emotionally as well as logically. This became the crux of reflection for me.

I became the facilitator as well as the researcher, working through identification of self and renewed self-interrogation. If we struck head on against an identified problem, I asked "Why am I [or you] having a problem with this? What is it about 'this' that is a problem?" I found that some individuals were more reflective than others. Why? My intuition told me that reflection was related to emotional literacy and access to the self. As well, the research process was a production that was space and time bounded. Thus, I had differing relations with each person, we "produced" a different event with each meeting. However, in view of this "production" I had to ask myself: who really creates or facilitates the reflective process and under what conditions?

RELATIONAL IDENTITY

Our reflections on the self led us to conceptions of identity. Without exception, every participant had an identity with a marginalized group. I began to see how identity exists in direct relation to specific contexts and inquiries. Men who might be signified as "white, middle-class" talked about their own experiences of being racialized because of an affiliation with relative or a friend, or politicized because their parents had working-class occupations. These men, characteristically, would be seen as part of a monolithic group of "white men," but they were more than that. They moved from locations of isolation to locations of power and this influenced how they saw themselves and their work in the institution. These relational aspects of self engendered a deeper sense of awareness of the issues of diversity and discrimination, even though observers might see these men as primarily members of a power group.

Women spoke of their multiple identities of race, gender and class. There were times where gender was paramount, and other contexts where race superseded the dimension of gender. Some sense of struggle emerged around the concept of "white women of privilege" and this opened up new dialogue. The reflections on identity facilitated a "mirroring" process in our meetings. There was a moment when one participant commented to another: "I feel deeply distressed listening to this..." Here, an important link was made between the two people, but also a link was made to their everyday interpretation of the institution. For some, this was a reactivation of the personal and the institutional, there were new examinations of stories that had been assumed, and for others there was a reaffirmation of their role and place: "this is what I do and why."

Identity and identifying with the subject at hand became troublesome for a number of individuals who described their struggle. There emerged a need to move people's perceptions away from the view that discrimination and diversity was a personal issue or agenda. The issue had become individually identified rather than institutionally. This demarcation became a way of minimizing their concerns, as the concerns could be signified as belonging to a small group of people.

The construction of identity and identification was problematic for some, as it is for me. It often raised more questions than it answered by essentializing the group(s) to which we belong. The institution itself represents a place of privilege. The construction of privilege interplays with the margin. Having recognized some of the elements of their own marginalization, the participants in the research began to examine what that meant for them in the future. Did we choose the margin, as hooks (1990) suggests as a place for "radical openness," a place where we can continue the struggle in our own terms? These thoughts and reflections continued well past my time with the participants.

SHIFT HAPPENS

The narrative process began as a dialogue with the researcher and with the self. Reflections made it possible to renegotiate meaning and "truth". Starting from the personal, we moved to the social and the institutional. Where stories of institutional rigidity prevailed, there were attempts to reconstruct what this lack of movement meant. In essence, the researchees began trying different vantage points for their story and its placement within the institutional stories. These attempts were not always successful within the context of the research, but the discussions continued. The measures ("what counts") of movement and change began to shift.

This process provided a time and space for people to articulate their feelings about changes and lack of change in their institution. Through reflection, some notions of what had been achieved were redefined. This was a site in which critical reflection and analysis, both personally and institutionally, took place. The research process influenced a rethinking of action plans, individually and collectively. Reflections also facilitated some redefinitions of knowledge and knowledge processes in action.

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INCLUDING THE BODY IN LEARNING PROCESSES

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Précis: Le point de mire de cette présentation est l'emploi des mouvements du corps and de l'art pour l'éducation des adultes.

Abstract: The focus of this presentation is to show how body movement and art can be used in teaching and learning in adult education.

In 1994, I remember seeing a newspaper picture of a once straight road in Japan reduced to an undulating line by a major earthquake. Metaphorically, the earthquake could serve to symbolize the major paradigm shift we are currently experiencing, but have not yet fully understood; the undulating line could represent curved space which Marshall McLuhan (1962) says has dissolved the era of print culture which flourished due to Gutenberg's invention of the printing press.

The gradual disappearance of the Gutenberg heritage weakens the dominance given to the visual sense and offers us the opportunity to reclaim the wisdom of the body in our learning processes. Marshall McLuhan (1962) gives us this warning: "The dominance of one sense is the formula for hypnosis. And a culture can be locked in the sleep of anyone sense. The sleeper awakes when challenged in any other sense" (p.13). Can we afford to be caught sleeping when APEC's sole vision for global education is to prepare citizens for work?

Traces of global politics can now be found everywhere in society. I am currently working with a group of settlement workers (people who work with refugees) to introduce new ways of coping with global change in the workplace. In one of our training sessions, I gave them a box of rubber bands and asked them to create a metaphor to express what it would mean to live and work in the new information society. They connected the rubber bands and then formed a circle with each of them linked to one another by putting their hands through the stretched rubber bands. The metaphor was a powerful one because it included their bodies. When we remain connected to our body knowledge, it will make it more difficult for the powers that be to control our minds. For as McLuhan (1962) says: "Big brother goes inside" (p.32) when our senses go inside of us. This is why we must make efforts to include more than just the visual sense in our learning processes.

Arnold Mindell (1989), a Jungian process therapist, says that "movement is usually the least used form of expression in the Western world and one that we need to learn more about" (p.107). Neurophysiologist, Carla Hannaford (1995) says that "thinking and learning are not all in our head. On the contrary, the body plays an integral part in all our intellectual processes from our earliest moments right through to old age. It is our body's senses that feed the brain environmental information with which to form an understanding of the world and from which to draw when creating the possibilities. And it is our movements that express knowledge and facilitate greater cognitive function as they increase in complexity" (p.11). Polanyi (1957) says that "to be aware of our body in terms of the things we know and do, is to feel alive. This awareness is an essential part of our existence as sensuous active persons" (p.29). "Kinesthetic imagery associated with dance and body movement often evokes deep unconscious feelings both in sleep and in the waking state" (Vaughn, 1979, p. 89). Gabriel Roth (1989) says that when we free the body, we free the heart. In the next part of this paper, I would like to describe what I, myself, learned through my body when I engaged in body movement.

After dancing one day, I wrote the following in my journal: *A red flower in a desert, dark night, no stars. Birthing of oneself-clearing away the debris that does not allow me to know myself. Emergence. Back pain lessened when I decided that I would move the way that I want to-that I was the creative force in my life. I am in the darkness of not knowing, yet there is within me a passionate, fiery, self-knowledge, yet still developing.*

I found this note to myself interesting when I compared it with these words of Polyani (1959): "Pre-verbal knowledge appears as a small lighted area surrounded by immense darkness, a small path illuminated by accepting a-critically the unreasoned conclusions of our own senses; while man's articulate knowledge represents a panorama of the whole universe, established under the control of critical reflection" (p.17).

I represented this inner knowing by drawing a red flower with a green stem surrounded by blackness. Around the same time, I was given a poem called *The Red Flower* about a little boy who when he first started school was told to draw a flower by the teacher. The little boy had all kinds of wonderful ideas for beautiful flowers of all different colours, but when he showed these flowers to the teacher she admonished him and told him that flowers were red with green leaves. I remember reading this poem and then looking at the flower which I had drawn in the darkness....red with green leaves. It reminded me of the silences of the voices not given the opportunity to speak in their own language, be it with words, images, or the body.

As I continued to work with body movement, one of the symbols which started to re-occur was that of the wave. Recalling the undulating line of the road destroyed by the earthquake, I began to recognize the wave as what Gebser (1986) refers to as "the basic form of the 4-dimensional space-time world"(p.472).

I also began to understand in a new way that I am not separate from nature. I am the wave. "We know ourselves to be made from this earth. We know this earth is made from our bodies. For we see ourselves. And we are nature" (Griffin, 1978, p.226). "Synesthetic perception is the rule, and we are unaware of it only because scientific knowledge shifts the centre of gravity of experiences" (Abram, 1996, p. 60). And more than this "our personal bodies and dreams are channels of global potentials; we are manifestations of a universal dream and body" (Mindell, 1989, p.39).

In astrological terms, we are said to be now living in the age of Aquarius which is symbolized by the wave. "The sign of the wave represents water; not the water we drink, but the rivers of consciousness that flows over the earth from the source of intuition and the water of knowledge that all men and women are brothers and sisters. The ruling planet of Aquarius is Uranus, which stands for modern science, humanism, and the desire to overcome all obstacles that hinder human growth, the development of societies and human fellowship" (Liungman, 1991, p.42). In the age of Aquarius a reconciliation of opposites is promised. This is a message of hope for a planet in transformation.

"In ancient Egypt the hieroglyph for thought was a heart, proclaiming as ancient truth the timeless poetic insight that without the barriers of formal language, it is obvious that feelings think and thoughts feel when thinking and feeling are well-conducted" (Baring, 1991, p. 678). In this exploration of body movement, I found myself understanding the old Italian proverb-the future has an ancient heart.

Since I felt that I had benefited from finding ways to connect with the wisdom of the body, I decided to bring this kind of learning into a classroom teaching situation. During the planning process for a month long intensive program for Korean language teachers at the University of Alberta, I attended a movement class at a Waldorf school. The school foyer happened to be decorated with masks painted by the students. I was struck by the creativity and originality of the masks and thought that I would like to make masks with the Korean teachers. We did make masks or as Gaston Bachelard (1971) would say we dreamed with our hands. Some comments on the mask making exercise at the end of the program were:

I learned who I am.

Making the masks allowed me to reflect upon myself.

I could choose any shape, any color, any voice that I wanted.

It's the first step to be creative.

I felt free.

To have the ability of expression through making masks is to have
the opportunity to create myself.

Bachelard (1971) says that "masks help us to face the future" (p.181). Cirlot (1962) says of the mask "metamorphosis must be hidden from view-and hence-the need for a mask. Secrecy tends towards transfiguration; it helps what-one-would-like-to-be; and this is what constitutes its magic character. The mask is equivalent to the chrysalis" (pp. 195-196).

The mask-making exercise took place *mid-way* during the program. Making the masks was a prelude to the teacher-narrative-vision the teachers were asked to create at the end of the program. One of the teachers, Jong-Ki, had minimal English skills and decided that he would act out his narrative-vision for the group. In other words, he used his body instead of using speech. As his drama unfolded it became evident that what Jong Ki was expressing touched the Korean teachers in a profound way. They were still and pensive; several of them wiped tears from their eyes. It made me realize that his was not just a personal story. It was the story of the suffering of a nation. It was the rememory of being annexed by the Japanese, and a war that resulted in ripping the country apart. The teachers' embodied pain of generations reminded me once again of how much the body has to teach us.

Arnold Mindell (1989) says that "asking an academic or professional group to use their unoccupied body feelings can stimulate wonders" (p. 112). Since we cannot afford to lose the teachings of the body as we move closer into the global age, it is important for adult educators to take steps to include the body as a way of knowing.

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A DOUBLE-EDGED SWORD: VALUE TENSIONS AND CONSTITUENCY STAKES IN PRIOR LEARNING ASSESSMENT AND RECOGNITION (PLAR)

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Implementing PLAR requires ongoing negotiation amongst stakeholders. Differences need to be brought to the table, rather than dissolved in a climate of consensus. Each constituency needs to assess the costs and benefits of PLAR in terms of its values and goals.

La reconnaissance des acquis nous exige d'identifier les valeurs et les interets de chaque partenaire. Puis on peut negocier les differences, au lieu de les cacher dans un climat de faux consensus.

A/ INTRODUCTION

PRIOR LEARNING ASSESSMENT AND RECOGNITION is the process of identifying, assessing, and recognizing what a person knows and can do. Its adoption could be part of developing an effective, efficient and equitable adult learning system in Canada.

PLAR can be a practical, flexible way to solve the challenges of identifying and assessing skills. Persons trained in PLAR can work with an individual to identify and assess the person's skills and knowledge. These skills and knowledge would then be compared to standards for different levels of education, vocational training or job skills. PLAR can make it easier for individuals to find out where they stand and what they need to do to get a job or reach a career goal. It can enhance a worker's employment security, and broaden the range of choices available. It can help schools and training institutions place students in the right courses. It can help employers improve their workplace by making the best use of skills amongst employees.

The basic concept of PLAR sounds so logical, and its benefits so widespread, that it takes a sceptic to wonder why it is not already in place across Canada. Indeed, why is there obvious resistance to its implementation. We suggest that this is a classic case where "neutral" or technical logic will block understanding of the situation. Rather, we need to take a situated and dialectical approach, to consider how each stakeholder in the process might identify benefits and costs in terms of their own values and goals. This could then lead us into fruitful analysis of the process of social bargaining which is now underway in Canada around PLAR.

B/ CURRENT STANDARDS

After a lengthy process, a set of standards for PLAR has been proposed by the Canadian Labour Force Development Board. These were developed by a working group, and then adopted by a very diverse board after extensive consultation with the constituencies they represented. The standards are:

1. PLAR must be accessible and relevant to people as individuals. It must focus on the unique needs and abilities of the individual.

2. Assessment and recognition must be of learning (knowledge, skills, and judgement acquired through study or experience) not of experience.

3. The PLAR process must be fair and equitable. It must be barrier-free and bias-free.

4. The PLAR process must be efficient. It must make the best use of resources for the individual.

5. The PLAR process must be effective. It must provide the opportunity for recognition of prior learning, but it must not hold out false promises.

6. The PLAR process must be transparent. The individual must know the criteria and standards used to assess his or her skills and knowledge.

7. The assessment must be reliable. The criteria and standards must be recognized and respected by all the labour market partners. This principle applies to occupational and skill standards, the learning outcomes stated for a specific course or training program, and the credentials required for a specific job or occupational group.

8. The assessment tools and their PLAR application must be valid. They must be recognized and accepted by all the labour market partners.

9. Individuals assessing prior learning must be trained to perform this task.

10. The assessing organization must provide a number of ways to carry out an assessment. Individuals should have the opportunity to choose how their assessment will be done. If necessary, they should get help to make their choice.

11. Recognition awarded through PLAR should be considered equal to recognition awarded in the traditional manner.

12. Recognition awarded through PLAR should be transferable between organizations, provinces and territories.

13. PLAR must be an option or opportunity, not a mandatory process.

14. If a person is not satisfied with the PLAR assessment, an appeal procedure must be available.

For these fourteen standards to actually be implemented would require a significant effort by all those constituencies who have now agreed to them formally. Presentations in this conference by Peter Sawchuk, Karen Lior and Anne Morais can help us see the implications for learners, workers and their organizations. Let us consider what that effort would mean in practical terms for two other constituencies involved, namely educational institutions and employers.

C/ ISSUES FOR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

PLAR really means a major paradigm shift for many traditional post-secondary institutions:

Non-formal learning

- it threatens them exactly at their core being -- the nearly exclusive right to grant credentials, but more importantly to be the only providers of the information necessary to qualify for those credentials. Accepting that not all valuable learning occurs in the formal education environment requires that they rethink their very reason for being
- it also requires that intended learning outcomes are, first, stated clearly, and, second, stated as skill and knowledge competencies. This is a monumental challenge for most post-secondary institutions that have operated on the basis of tradition and intuition in terms of anticipated student learning.
- If PLAR were to become a "credit giveaway," then the reputations of both student and institution would be damaged. Quality control, the continuance of academic value in degrees and programs, is a primary concern of educational institutions.

Learner-orientation

- it also requires that they pay more attention to the learner, their client base because if they don't someone else will and what student will want to spend longer in the classroom than they need to
- it requires shifting focus, in attitude and operationally, from serving the needs of high school graduates to adult learners moving in and out of training throughout a lifetime
- on the other hand, PLAR opens the institution to a much broader number and variety of potential students, increasing access to whole categories of previously marginalized Canadians.

Time, money and resources

- when the finances of an institution are dependent on head-counts, there is no incentive to reduce the length of time students spend in an institution.
- it also means giving priority, among competing priorities, to the development of appropriate policies, procedures and tools, and making the necessary changes in the way programs and services are delivered. PLAR creates the need for more modular and flexible forms of teaching and scheduling, more evening, weekend and other non-traditional options and less September to May time-based full-time programs and more demonstrations, on-the-job testing and less traditional classrooms, written tests, etc.

D/ ISSUES FOR EMPLOYERS

Benefits of PLAR to business and industry are twofold: benefits from the perspective of employers, and economic benefits for Canadian industry at large.

Through PLAR, employers can:

- have a better picture of the skills and knowledge acquired, by individuals, in both formal education and training and from other learning environments
- make efficient use of the skills and knowledge of their existing workforce, rather than laying off workers and hiring new ones
- match people and jobs more effectively and efficiently
- improve organizational development and planning through identification of strengths and gaps in workforce knowledge and skills
- enable employees to take greater responsibility for their own training and development
- foster increased portability of skills and credentials, thereby improving the chances of worker mobility

PLAR doesn't promise prosperity. But as business and industry possibly experiences greater effectiveness, efficiency and equity in the processes of recruiting, selecting, promoting and training workers, the Canadian economy stands to benefit. A major premise of PLAR is that it can improve access to appropriate employment for significant numbers of underemployed and unemployed Canadian workers. While Canadian employers are worrying about a skills shortage, it just may be that the workers they need are just looking for the opportunity to show they can do the job.

Of all the labour market partners, business and industry is the least enthusiastic about PLAR. Some of the reason are as follows.

- Most large enterprises already have established, intricate and expensive systems for recruiting, selecting and hiring, promotion and career development. PLAR requires making changes that can be costly.
- There has not been enough research to show how PLAR can be used to advantage inside the employment environment, and absolutely no evidence of cost-benefit to employers. The hypothesis is yet to be tested.
- Any innovation requires new resources. This has already been mentioned. However, it needs to be reinforced that PLAR requires an ongoing dialogue with the other labour

market partners, and this affects the bottom line for industry.

Until these contentious issues are discussed and resolved, they serve as barriers to the wide-spread implementation of PLAR in the employment environment.

E/ IMPLICATIONS

Last fall, several hundred people gathered in Montreal for the Second National Forum on PLAR. A third such conference is planned for 1999 in Vancouver. This means that a considerable amount of public funding is already committed to this initiative. Further, a considerable commitment of resources is made by organizations that send delegates, from their union, community organization, equity-seeking group or educational provider. Gradually, participants are becoming more comfortable with a climate of tension around goals and values. They see this as a creative rather than negative dynamic.

However, this involves a change in conceptions of how public policy is developed and implemented. It does not require major commitment of government research staff, nor a set of mechanisms to enforce compliance with legislated requirements. Rather, it requires that the different labour market partners spend the time and commitment to fully understand the importance of an issue such as PLAR to their constituency. It also means that this understanding be thought of in a strategic context such as why, when and how they should try to achieve their goals with respect to PLAR. It then requires that this understanding and strategizing be brought to the table along with a similar clear understanding and strategizing by the other labour market partners about their own needs. Only when the players come to the table adequately equipped can they effectively enter into a social bargaining process with the others and the process of negotiating becomes a meaningful one. Grounding the process and substance clearly within the culture and needs of the different labour market partners is the only possible way to achieve a result which can successfully survive in the long-term.

LEARNING STRATEGIES OF EARLY BRITISH COLUMBIA DIVERS AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF ADULT LEARNING STRATEGIES IN AN INFORMAL SETTING

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This paper presents a study which investigated, recorded, and sought to understand and to describe the social context of the original small group of British Columbia recreational divers and the informal learning strategies employed by them in a nominally recreational setting from 1951 into 1958. The study used material gathered in oral narrative interviews with surviving divers from that era as the primary data source, and used available historical documents and literature as secondary sources to explore the educational and historical question of "how" early British Columbian divers learned and practiced their activity.

Cette etude presente une recherche laquelle comprehendre et decrier le context sociale de l'original petite groupe de plongers recreatif et les strategies d'apprentisage informale ils ont employe dans un situation recreatif nominale durant 1951 et 1958. L'etude a utilize les intrevieus narratif orale avec les plongeurs de cette epoche comme source principal, et les documents historic pour explorer les questionnes au sujet de l'apprentisage et la practique des anciens plongers de la colombie britannique.

Introduction

It is far from an understatement to say that one's ability to learn from life-experiences directly impacts on one's immediate and long-term success in life and living. Cell (1984), says that learning from one's own experiences affects one's personality, coping skills, and feelings of personal power and significance. Cell and numerous writers before and after him also pointed out that experiential learning tends to be a highly effective method for achieving change in the learner, in terms of behavior, interpretation skills, personal autonomy, and creativity. Today's theorists, researchers and educators broadly accept this view. Conti & Kolody (1996) point out as well that distinctive groups of learners exist, in terms of their learning strategies. They state that "learning strategies are those techniques or specialized skills that the learner has developed to use in both formal and informal learning situations." Dale and Conti (1992 p.52) note that although the informal recreational setting is one where adult education in is increasingly expanding its boundaries, this area of adult learning is largely "uninvestigated."

The learning efforts of early BC divers spanned three compressed periods of time. Throughout each period divers as self directed learners participated in a social learning activity situated in the lived-in world as described in Bonham's Inquiry Model (Bonham, 1989). Outcomes appear to meld concepts embedded in Bonham's model with the concept of Socially Situated Learning. The purposes of this study were to investigate the beginnings of sport-diving in British Columbia and to examine the learning strategies of a group of men with varying degrees of formal education who were involved in a non- or informal, complex, long-term and sometimes dangerous learning activity.

Methodology.

The study consisted of three "parts." Primary historical data concerning learning strategies as well as a general oral historical recounting was collected through a series of 1-3 tape-recorded and transcribed one and one-half hour oral evidence-giving interviews per narrator. There are approximately twenty-five individuals currently known to the researcher who dived in BC waters between 1950 and August 1956, and an additional ten between August 1956 and the end of 1958. Fourteen of the former and two of the latter were interviewed. One narrator's interview was not included in the study as it became apparent that although he participated in the activity as fully as any other learner, in 1952 he was only eleven years old. Although any volunteered information was accepted into the interview process the focus of the interview questions was on the "how" of things, the manner in which the learners approached their learning activity. Additional questions covered the spectrum of family background, education, diving equipment, personal diving history and experience, and work experience. Analysis of transcriptions was on-going and tended to "circle back" as the researcher found key points for elaboration in say, the first interview with a narrator, to be brought up and elaborated on in a further discussion. Additionally, as the number of interviewed narrators increased, points raised in the course of one narrator's sessions often led the researcher to ask for clarification from another already interviewed narrator, and/or added to the approach taken with to-be-interviewed narrators.

Secondary data collection, which actually preceded the interviews for the most part, was the collection, tabling and analysis of archival historical and other documented evidence. Names of early divers were collected from previous research carried out by the research in 1994. Additional names were culled from BC diving related written material, such as an unpublished manuscript belonging to one of the narrators. Still further names were acquired through inquiries in the BC diving community. These were placed initially in a table document (divers.doc) and later in a database file (olddivers.mdb). As potential narrators were initially contacted each was asked when they had begun to dive. Simultaneously extensive library and archival searches were carried out for related articles in newspapers, books and magazines. Articles, clippings, etc.., were photocopied and dated (clipping.doc). A tentative twenty-nine page table-style timeline was assembled (timeline.doc) based on the information obtained, which included the advent of the sport in BC, when and where equipment became available, the approximate time and location of individuals and groups first becoming involved in diving, and their individual memories of "how" they approached particular learning activities. A fairly extensive photograph collection of early diving activities was also assembled.

Analysis.

As previously noted, analysis was an ongoing process between interviews, both those conducted with one individual and between different completed interviews. Analysis was both historical and also under investigation were learning strategies applied by the participant narrators. Historical research sought, and succeeded in placing each of the narrators' remembered personal histories of diving into a larger, in-context history of diving which corresponded with collected secondary data. This particular portion of the analysis was particularly time consuming. In order to examine evidence properly it was first necessary to take the gathered material and to sequence it correctly on a fixed timeline. Individual narrators tended to achieve fair accuracy regarding the order in which their personal events occurred, as well as approximating the length of time between events fairly accurately. Collectively narrators biggest difficulty was in dating learning experiences and other events. In some cases this difficulty was acknowledged by the narrator openly and freely during the course of the interview process almost as a form of disclaimer and approximating "Well you know I can tell you when or how things happened and I can tell you the sequence in which they occurred, but I can't tell you the exact dates." In other cases narrators appeared to seek to date an event or learning activity when it could not possibly have occurred then. Divers who provided the 'disclaimer' tended to end up being more accurate in terms of timing than the divers who believed they knew all the dates. Secondary research and material such as signed and dated books, a journal, and key historical events such as the Croy/Franks journal, the advent of the Vancouver Skin Divers Club, the 1954 British Empire games, the death of Jim Willis, or the beginning of the Sub-aquatic Club, which occurred at a particular point in time and or had a specific impact on particular individuals provided benchmarks on which to fix events and learning experiences. Benchmark dates made it possible to "slide" individual narrated timelines along the benchmarked timeline until it "clicked" into place. Each narration which "clicked" into place made following narrations easier to place in the fixed timeline.

Analysis of learning strategies focused on an examination of techniques and skills of the individuals and the group. Upon "completion" (I am still getting letters, phone calls, clippings and so on) of the interviewing and transcription process, analysis carried on. "Chunks" of narrated material dealing with the general categories of learning and equipment were pulled from the narrations and placed in tables entitled learntab.doc, a fifty-six page table, and equiptab.doc, a twenty-eight page table. These, combined with an abbreviated timeline.doc, provided three "catalogues" of "cards" of responses. Catalogues were further subjected to queries which classified and linked "cards" in terms of time, location, similarity and/or difference. When necessary individual narratives were revisited for clarification and additional "chunks" were pulled and added to the tables.

Analysis provided some interesting outcomes. The early divers tended to acquire their interest in diving individually through such things as viewing a movie, reading a book or magazine, talking with an older commercial hard-hat diver, or in one case borrowing the fins of a friend on leave from the US armed forces. Motivations for taking up diving were very much individualized. However individuals quickly sought to become a part of a group of learners.

The very first group of three divers was tentative in the extreme in so far as their approach to the ocean environment, donning their face-masks and literally placing only the lens of the masks in the water first, then very slowly exploring a confined area of shore bottom almost an inch at a time, during their first entry into the learning environment. While all three were avid breath-hold divers, none chose to become SCUBA-divers. This conservative approach continued throughout their diving activities, and also was included in their "teaching" to other neophyte divers who came after them. (I should note that these three individuals also rode chopped motorcycles across North America and were considered great adventurer generally speaking, judging by their newspaper clippings.) As a unit of learners, this first group could be seen as three self-directed learners who formed a society for the sake of companionship, safety and knowledge exchange.

The following wave of individuals, knowing from the experiences of their predecessors that the water environment was relatively safe, literally jumped in, and breath-hold dove to depths twice that of their teachers. They accepted much of their learning from their predecessors, and relied as well on peer-group knowledge transfer, based on new and ongoing experience. They adapted their diving styles to newly available re-breather and SCUBA technology with breath-taking speed. They conducted informal "meetings" in each other's basements and exchanged informal or learning obtained both through experience and information obtained through various media. They dove exuberantly and to some extent ignored or were ignorant of dangers inherent both in their environment and the technologies they had adopted. Tragedy struck. Four divers in BC were separately killed in a span of two months using re-breather technology.

The third wave of divers carried forward the learning of their predecessors with a note of caution. Re-breathers were literally scrapped. Divers met more formally to learn about safety under the tutelage of more seasoned, experienced and knowledgeable divers. A certification process for diver "instructors" was established. A training program, diver - not industry driven, was established for new divers. Learning, although still driven by individual desire to learn, became embedded in a diver-societal set of rules. Concepts such as diving with a buddy, heretofore recommended by the wise but not mandatory, became not only commonly accepted, but expected by one's peer group. Notions such as diving profiles, i.e. returning to the surface from a certain depth in certain fashion, at a certain speed, with a minimum amount of air, rapidly replaced the "Oops, I ran out of air, better go up" routine. Divers began to rely more and more on "experts" for their learning.

Conclusions.

This study is one more in the growing body of literature concerning adult learning strategies, and contributes therefore to our greater understanding of adult learning. The study, albeit examines a very small sample of learners, clearly demonstrates that even within that small set, at least three patterns of learning strategies existed. Certainly time and circumstances can account for much of the pattern differentiation in the study; however the same can be said for most other studies. Additionally, the data contained within the study appears to argue for a "melding" or compatibility between Bonham's Inquiry Model and the concept of socially situated learning. Perhaps then there is room for individualism within the fabric of society without the need for homogenization, and equally a value for social constructions within the nature of self-direction, without the extreme of atomism.

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ADULT EDUCATION AND A COMMUNITY-BASED NUTRITION PROJECT: ACTION RESEARCH IN MALAWI

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Abstract

Between 1995-1997, two rural communities in Southern Region, Malawi, participated in a nutrition education project which they named, Tulimbe—"let us be strong." Project participants defined their own features of effective adult education: Visual, Empowering, and Group-Centred (VEG). With these criteria in the foreground, project staff engaged in action research to explore the constraints and possibilities of non-formal education in this setting.

Résumé

Entre les années 1995 et 1997, deux communautés rurales de la région du Sud de Malawi ont participé à un project d'éducation sur la nutrition qu'elles ont nommé, Tulimbe—"soyons forts." Les participants au project ont défini leurs propres paramètres pour une éducation des adultes efficace: Visuelle, Habilitante, et centrée sur les activities de groupes (VHG). Avec ces critères au premier plan, l'équipe du project s'est engagée dans une recherche active pour explorer les limitations et les possibilitiés d'une éducation informelle dans cet environnement.

Introduction

Many nutrition education programs in Africa have failed to provide meaningful messages and motivation for dietary change. For this reason, Tulimbe Nutrition Project in Mangochi, Southern Region, Malawi, worked with communities over a two-year period to ensure an engaging and relevant intervention which became a model for other food security and nutrition projects in Malawi. The intervention introduced ways of increasing the intakes and bioavailability of micronutrients from foods, including the introduction of new cultivars, technologies, and methods for food processing and preparation (Ferguson et al., 1995). Three hundred families with children from 3 to 7 years old pledged to participate and make the project their own.

Beginning with a bottom-up philosophy, a team, including the author and five Malawian Home Economists, believed that nutritional change could lead to community development. By building on existing institutions and activities, and creating new ones, the project encouraged various groups of people to use their talents and skills. Clark (1980) believes that when groups of adults recognize traditional or new skills and practices which are fundamental to development, such as collective problem solving, they will apply them to other problems and concerns. Identifying adult education principles as those most applicable to the promotion of community involvement in health care, Clark questions why adult education is not specified more often as an approach for effective community health programming.

Litsios agrees with Clark, saying that because adult education approaches are used to develop an aware, informed and active public, then adult education should be the "central thrust" of the primary health care system (Litsios, 1980: 15). Tandon (1980) summarizes the functions of adult education: informing, mobilizing and integrating. Tulimbe Nutrition Project, essentially a community health project, illustrates how these adult education functions work. Learning about nutrition and new dietary strategies inspired participants to mobilize their community in its development process. Moreover, nutrition is a logical entry point for mobilizing people around other development concerns (FAO, 1993) because it addresses the issues of health, food, income generation, water, sanitation and child care. Within this context, adult education approaches help people to integrate their health and nutrition concerns and act upon them.

Tulimbe's Approaches to Adult Education

During Tulimbe Project's first workshop with senior officers and field staff, participants were asked to identify principles which would assist in the effectiveness of the "informing" process with communities. They devised the acronym V.E.G. for Visual, Empowering, and Group-Centred. The VEG acronym represents adult education principles which formed the basis for the approach to communities. By exploring the aspects of the VEG acronym, Tulimbe Nutrition project engaged in action research with people to examine both the constraints and possibilities of community-based non-formal adult education.

Visual

Staff and government partners were concerned about the fact that most of the community members were non-literate, or semi-literate with little formal education. Therefore, it was important that the project provided points of reference for people's learning other than reading materials and what Kerr (1989) calls "frontal talks"--using a "heavy-handed 'top-down' approach" in which field staff "merely preached to the . . . communities." Government staff realized that this approach, although it was used most frequently, was ineffective, and they wanted to learn new ways to communicate with people. The significance of the "V" for "visual" stood for a range of learning aids.

During cooking demonstrations, illiteracy was not a significant obstacle to learning because the lesson was reinforced through active participation, experiential learning, visual and memory aids. Program staff carried with them teaching kits--large baskets of real foods and ingredients to remind people of nutrient-rich items. Without these visual cues, people's ability to grasp the purpose of the lesson and to remember the foods was more limited. Women were especially affected by their experience of learning, since many had not been to school, and as a result had low self-esteem and little confidence in their ability to acquire knowledge. One female group leader spoke for many when she said how surprised she was at her ability to retain information.

Apart from the hands-on demonstration method which was the most meaningful learning forum for women, drama was an effective way of communicating the project's messages to all members of the community, especially men and youth. In many parts of Africa, drama is the most "relevant and appropriate technology for imparting development information to people and for involving them in identifying, portraying and analyzing their problems" (Malamah-Thomas, 1987). Drama performances were accessible to everyone, and popular because they incorporated indigenous language and talents, including song and dance. Similar to Kerr's (1989) experience in Malawi, even without previous experience, men and women who comprised the troupes had few inhibitions, and acted out improvised and humorous plays for everyone's enjoyment. The drama groups decided for themselves how they would communicate project messages to their communities. While most of the project's visual aids were formulated by program staff or artists outside of the community, the drama groups had complete artistic freedom to portray the messages they wanted, with their own props, costumes, expressions, and story lines. Drama groups and their plays inspired a sense of ownership of the project, and gave more credibility to the nutrition information.

Empowering

Most rural development projects have the potential to provide life-changing opportunities through adult education approaches. However, many projects focus on the technical aspects of their interventions rather than involving people in a learning process. Thus, government officers and field staff were asked to define "empowerment," so that they would be more aware of how their own communication practices affected the learning potential of their rural clients: "giving people the chance/ opportunity to do things on their own; giving people their rights/ the ability/ the authority to do things."

Part of the project's strategy for empowering and keeping people at the centre of the process was the emphasis on local leadership. Of utmost importance was gaining the acceptance of the village head man and other opinion leaders. The project's credibility was largely effected by whether the head man's support for the project was consistent, and thus, his attitude toward the project had an effect on people's ability to learn new things. In one community, the head man's support wavered because some people were jealous of the newly elected leaders. The period of time taken for this village to mobilize itself effectively for participation in project activities was much longer than for the other village, whose head man fully cooperated with the project staff and encouraged all opinion leaders to do the same. The people were empowered to better learning by their head man's cooperation.

Another factor which affected peoples' learning process was the positioning of program staff. Before the intervention program began, I asked the staff to name their role, so that they could introduce themselves to the families in their groups according to a particular function. After considering a number of titles in the vernacular, including "facilitator," "advisor," or "friend," the staff decided that they most empowering title would be "teacher" (aphuzitsi). The reason they chose this title was because they believed it would connote a unique and respectful relationship that honoured the people. Government field staff were called "advisors," and therefore, the staff felt that they should be differentiated from them. Most of the women in the target group had not been to school, and the women felt empowered to learn because they attended special lessons from the "teachers" whom they never had when they were young.

An empowering learning context is one which "fosters joint discovery by the community and the facilitator . . .[of] shared experience-knowledge events that can potentially point to the solution that is most appropriate for the social reality" (Fussell, 1996: 52). The project promoted the use of familiar food practices, such as fermentation and the adding of germinated cereal flour. Project staff asked community women to demonstrate how they prepared their foods and how they varied recipes with different ingredients. By acknowledging and reinforcing the existing practices, a context was created which allowed people to modifying them. Fussell also says that what is most appropriate for the social reality may be "different from anything previously represented within the visions of either the community or the facilitator" (1996: 52). As families experimented with recipes and food combinations, they also introduced staff to their own ideas and variations. Sunflower seeds were introduced by the project, and promoted for use in a seed-oil press. Even though the press was not operational, people found ways to use the seeds as seasonings and condiments. People owned their own learning process and felt free to experiment with their ideas.

Group-Centred

At the beginning of the project, communities were divided into large groups of approximately forty families. For the purpose of efficiency, project staff planned large group demonstrations on soybean utilization. Women had to walk to a place which was often far from their homes. Because of the inconvenience, many were late and missed the rationale for the demonstration. Each mother was accompanied by two or three children, and the large gathering attracted extra children from the community. Because the demonstration site was crowded and noisy, and since people could not see the cooking pots nor hear their teachers, they talked and distracted each other. At the time for taste-testing, there was not enough food for everyone to sample, and the purpose of the lesson was lost. It became evident that by trying to be "efficient," in the conventional sense, the project would not succeed in its goals. The large group demonstration was not learner-centred, nor a technique which showed respect for people. Rudqvist (1994: 13) says that groups of more than twenty-five tend to hamper participation, and can break down into factions. Large groups were effective for activities which required mass participation; however, for learning, small groups of ten were ideal.

Small group demonstrations were very popular with the women because they were able to ask questions and have discussions during the lesson without feeling shy. At the end of the session, each woman with her children was able to have a meal from the new foods. Women were not only able to learn new recipes and ways of feeding their children, but were able to meet with their neighbours and make new friends. The women did not separate the experience of learning with others from the experience of learning new things. They depended on the group learning experience for follow-up and feedback. After the demonstration, the women would remind each other about how to make the recipes, and compare their results and their families' reactions. There emerged a sense of loyalty to the small group which prevented women from being absent or from deserting the group altogether. Lackey and Dershem (1992: 222) believe that project participation improves an individual's competence, but the individual's participation also encourages and assists others in their performance of similar activities. Learning in small groups was empowering because women were able to support each other in their adoption of innovations.

Conclusion

By being critically aware of the use of adult education principles, program staff were able to assess the most effective methods for communicating nutrition messages. Moreover, by facilitating community involvement in the creation of their own forums and media for learning, participants became responsible for their learning experiences. In the identification and exploration of aspects of the adult education process—Visual, Empowering, and Group-Centred—learning became meaningful and relevant. Because communities directed their own educational programs, they could visualize their potential for change and development.

Acknowledgments

Tulimbe Nutrition Project was sponsored by CIDA through the Micronutrient Initiative Fund and World Vision Canada, and UNICEF-Malawi. The Principal Investigator was R.S. Gibson (University of Otago, New Zealand); Co-Investigators were T.R. Cullinan (College of Medicine, University of Malawi) and B.M. Mtimuni (Bunda College of Agriculture, University of Malawi).

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Apart from the hands-on demonstration method which was the most meaningful learning forum for women, drama was an effective way of communicating the project's messages to all members of the community, especially men and youth. In many parts of Africa, drama is the most "relevant and appropriate technology for imparting development information to people and for involving them in identifying, portraying and analyzing their problems" (Malamah-Thomas, 1987). Drama performances were accessible to everyone, and popular because they incorporated indigenous language and talents, including song and dance. Similar to Kerr's (1989) experience in Malawi, even without previous experience, men and women who comprised the troupes had few inhibitions, and acted out improvised and humorous plays for everyone's enjoyment. The drama groups decided for themselves how they would communicate project messages to their communities. While most of the project's visual aids were formulated by program staff or artists outside of the community, the drama groups had complete artistic freedom to portray the messages they wanted, with their own props, costumes, expressions, and story lines. Drama groups and their plays inspired a sense of ownership of the project, and gave more credibility to the nutrition information.

Empowering

Most rural development projects have the potential to provide life-changing opportunities through adult education approaches. However, many projects focus on the technical aspects of their interventions rather than involving people in a learning process. Thus, government officers and field staff were asked to define "empowerment," so that they would be more aware of how their own communication practices affected the learning potential of their rural clients: "giving people the chance/ opportunity to do things on their own; giving people their rights/ the ability/ the authority to do things."

Part of the project's strategy for empowering and keeping people at the centre of the process was the emphasis on local leadership. Of utmost importance was gaining the acceptance of the village head man and other opinion leaders. The project's credibility was largely effected by whether the head man's support for the project was consistent, and thus, his attitude toward the project had an effect on people's ability to learn new things. In one community, the head man's support wavered because some people were jealous of the newly elected leaders. The period of time taken for this village to mobilize itself effectively for participation in project activities was much longer than for the other village, whose head man fully cooperated with the project staff and encouraged all opinion leaders to do the same. The people were empowered to better learning by their head man's cooperation.

Another factor which affected peoples' learning process was the positioning of program staff. Before the intervention program began, I asked the staff to name their role, so that they could introduce themselves to the families in their groups according to a particular function. After considering a number of titles in the vernacular, including "facilitator," "advisor," or "friend," the staff decided that they most empowering title would be "teacher" (aphuzitsi). The reason they chose this title was because they believed it would connote a unique and respectful relationship that honoured the people. Government field staff were called "advisors," and therefore, the staff felt that they should be differentiated from them. Most of the women in the target group had not been to school, and the women felt empowered to learn because they attended special lessons from the "teachers" whom they never had when they were young.

An empowering learning context is one which "fosters joint discovery by the community and the facilitator . . .[of] shared experience-knowledge events that can potentially point to the solution that is most appropriate for the social reality" (Fussell, 1996: 52). The project promoted the use of familiar food practices, such as fermentation and the adding of germinated cereal flour. Project staff asked community women to demonstrate how they prepared their foods and how they varied recipes with different ingredients. By acknowledging and reinforcing the existing practices, a context was created which allowed people to modifying them. Fussell also says that what is most appropriate for the social reality may be "different from anything previously represented within the visions of either the community or the facilitator" (1996: 52). As families experimented with recipes and food combinations, they also introduced staff to their own ideas and variations. Sunflower seeds were introduced by the project, and promoted for use in a seed-oil press. Even though the press was not operational, people found ways to use the seeds as seasonings and condiments. People owned their own learning process and felt free to experiment with their ideas.

Group-Centred

At the beginning of the project, communities were divided into large groups of approximately forty families. For the purpose of efficiency, project staff planned large group demonstrations on soybean utilization. Women had to walk to a place which was often far from their homes. Because of the inconvenience, many were late and missed the rationale for the demonstration. Each mother was accompanied by two or three children, and the large gathering attracted extra children from the community. Because the demonstration site was crowded and noisy, and since people could not see the cooking pots nor hear their teachers, they talked and distracted each other. At the time for taste-testing, there was not enough food for everyone to sample, and the purpose of the lesson was lost. It became evident that by trying to be "efficient," in the conventional sense, the project would not succeed in its goals. The large group demonstration was not learner-centred, nor a technique which showed respect for people. Rudqvist (1994: 13) says that groups of more than twenty-five tend to hamper participation, and can break down into factions. Large groups were effective for activities which required mass participation; however, for learning, small groups of ten were ideal.

Small group demonstrations were very popular with the women because they were able to ask questions and have discussions during the lesson without feeling shy. At the end of the session, each woman with her children was able to have a meal from the new foods. Women were not only able to learn new recipes and ways of feeding their children, but were able to meet with their neighbours and make new friends. The women did not separate the experience of learning with others from the experience of learning new things. They depended on the group learning experience for follow-up and feedback. After the demonstration, the women would remind each other about how to make the recipes, and compare their results and their families' reactions. There emerged a sense of loyalty to the small group which prevented women from being absent or from deserting the group altogether. Lackey and Dershem (1992: 222) believe that project participation improves an individual's competence, but the individual's participation also encourages and assists others in their performance of similar activities. Learning in small groups was empowering because women were able to support each other in their adoption of innovations.

Conclusion

By being critically aware of the use of adult education principles, program staff were able to assess the most effective methods for communicating nutrition messages. Moreover, by facilitating community involvement in the creation of their own forums and media for learning, participants became responsible for their learning experiences. In the identification and exploration of aspects of the adult education process—Visual, Empowering, and Group-Centred—learning became meaningful and relevant. Because communities directed their own educational programs, they could visualize their potential for change and development.

Acknowledgments

Tulimbe Nutrition Project was sponsored by CIDA through the Micronutrient Initiative Fund and World Vision Canada, and UNICEF-Malawi. The Principal Investigator was R.S. Gibson (University of Otago, New Zealand); Co-Investigators were T.R. Cullinan (College of Medicine, University of Malawi) and B.M. Mtimuni (Bunda College of Agriculture, University of Malawi).

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THE ROLE OF ACTION RESEARCH IN THE CREATION OF NEW KNOWLEDGE

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Abstract

This analysis of policy development on media violence in Canada is based on data gathered for a qualitative case study completed as a doctoral dissertation in adult education in 1995 at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE/UT). The purpose was to examine the social and cultural impact of media violence and to link the findings with recommendations for effective forms of public education and meaningful change.

Résumé

Cette analyse de l'élaboration de politique sur la violence dans les médias au Canada est basée sur des données réunies aux fins d'une étude qualitative de cas soumise, en 1995, comme thèse doctorale en éducation des adultes à l'Institut d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario (OISE/UT). Le but de l'étude est d'examiner l'impact social et culturel de la violence dans les médias et de faire le lien entre les conclusions et des recommandations faites pour améliorer l'enseignement public et pour effectuer des changements positifs.

Action-orientated, participatory research methodology for this study was designed to include leadership of the community based organization, Canadians Concerned About Violence In Entertainment (C-Cave) founded in 1983. C-CAVE's mandate is to provide public education on what the research shows. The organization believes the public has a right to know that the overwhelming weight of research points toward harmful effects.

The purpose was to investigate problems surrounding the issue of media violence, to better understand the reasons for underlying blocks to progress, Canadian responses or the lack of them and to examine the controversy surrounding calls for responsible regulation both nationally and internationally. The intention was to avoid duplicating any one of the numerous studies demonstrating harmful effects already completed on the subject of media violence. Instead, the objective was the facilitation of new knowledge on why so much research has yielded such modest results in terms of implementation of recommendations that have been repeated time and again. The major informing study was the Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, also known as the LaMarsh Report, completed in 1977.

The emergent, action-orientated, participatory approach to the research undertaken led to examination of the conflicting views over conclusiveness of findings and the issue of censorship. Because the methodology included working with members of the media themselves through countless media interviews, the research process, itself, helped to heighten public awareness. This eventually contributed to discussion involving a growing frequency of statements on the part of government officials, industry spokespersons, researchers and educators alike about the need to move beyond the debate over conclusiveness of findings to policy.

A conceptual framework for approaching the topic was influenced by a background in psychiatric nursing on the part of the researcher. This included a preference for preventative measures on health issues. By corollary this meant violence reduction in the cultural environment which is likely to be harmful. Key individuals, either involved in appointment of the Commission, appointed to it or hired by it were interviewed concerning implementation of its recommendations along with several keen observers of the outcomes.

In addition to media interviews, there was participation by the researcher in numerous government consultations at both provincial and federal levels, speeches, lectures and workshops given at conferences in universities, community colleges, community service organizations such as Kiwanis and Rotary Clubs, church groups and parent-teacher associations. Networking with representatives of other grass roots level community organizations addressing the issue of media violence inevitably followed.

Major Informing Study

The LaMarsh Report was chosen as the major informing study because it was exceptional in the way it addressed industry structure, social and economic forces, and Canadian/American media relations as key aspects of the 'problem'. The Commission recognized that powerful economic and social interests are instrumental in shaping media content, structure and control; and that there is a need to resist them.

It also recognized the damage caused by media violence, and worked with a commitment to democratic principles of civil liberties, as these pertain to freedom of expression and speech but rejected the notion that this requires protection for violence in the media.

The Problem

A perennial part of the public debate on this issue has been whether or not cultural commodities that unduly exploit violence should be restricted at the point of production and distribution. The short answer, as both scholars and members of the public have argued, is yes.

This position, advanced by the researcher in the process of data gathering that included active participation within the community, was at odds with that of Keith Spicer, chairman of the Canadian Radio, Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) from 1990 when he first decided to address the problem himself, until 1996 when he stepped down. Along with members of the media industries themselves, he argued in favour of voluntary measures on the part of industry that would enable parents to assume sole responsibility for their children's media diets.

The aim was to focus public discussion on research findings which demonstrate harmful effects to adolescents and adults as well as children, the extent to which children adopt the media habits of other adults including parents and the fact that once a cultural commodity is on the market, children of all ages tend to end up with access to it regardless of warnings, blocking devices and other measures developed for their protection. Also, to raise public awareness about the harmful effects of advertising, particularly for children, and media concentration as it diminishes the potential for diversity within the cultural environment.

Emergent Solutions

Community-wide participation in data gathering methods led to greater transparency in uncovering blocks to progress. This created opportunities for attention to be focused on strategies for change. Apart from the 55 recommendations which emerged from the project itself, these continue to include plans for action within the Cultural Environmental

Movement (CEM), mobilized in response to international concerns about the problems of an increasingly centralized, globalized and mass-marketed media environment. The knowledge created by this study has contributed to the growing worldwide consensus on strategies for the purpose of moving toward a more democratic cultural policy.

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ACTION FOR PREVENTION: FEMINIST PRACTICES IN TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING IN WOMEN'S HEALTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT. A CASE STUDY OF A PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH CIRCLE

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Abstract

This participatory research project on health was an examination of women's transformative learning as a catalyst for change in the primary prevention of environmentally linked diseases such as cancer. The objectives were to explore how some women's learning experiences and actions led to transformative change and empowerment in their lives and communities towards more holistic approaches to health, justice and the planet.

Résumé

Ce projet de recherche à participation sur la santé a été un examen de l'apprentissage transformateur des femmes commme catalyseur pour le changement dans la prévention primaire de maladies reliées à l'environnement tel que cancer. Les objectifs étaient d'explorer comment les expériences d'apprentissage et d'actions de quelques femmes ont mené au changement transformateur et à la prise de contrôle de leurs vies et de leurs communautés vers des procédés plus holistiques pour la santé, la justice et la planète.

This participatory research project on health and primary prevention of environmentally linked diseases was a process undertaken by a circle of women who see health as a concern that is shaped by forces related to patriarchal institutional power, privilege, profit and biomedical research models that we felt must be challenged and changed. The project, the subject of my doctoral dissertation, evolved from questions by environmental health researchers, that if cancer is largely an environmental disease, is it therefore largely preventable? As researchers and practitioners from breast cancer, environmental, peace, health, women's advocacy groups, we met to learn, to inform and support each other. We joined with others who view the right to a safe environment and health as a basic human right. Our research uncovered means for challenging the political economy of corporate exponential growth, pollution and waste as well as promoting a practical and more traditional societal paradigm of respect for the earth and all species on it for a more just, equitable and healthy society.

Participatory research

Participatory research has been described as a process which combines research, education and action (Hall 1981). It is a process of collective, community based investigation and advocacy for personal and structural transformation and contains overlapping features with feminist research. It favours those left out of the decision making process, in this case, those who challenge dominant health worldviews. In our project, we drew on Patti Lather's (1986) belief that we need to experiment, document and share our efforts towards emancipatory "praxis-oriented" research" which clarifies the critical and empowering roots of a research paradigm openly committed to critiquing the status quo and building a more just society. Lather uses praxis to mean the interactive, reciprocal shaping of theory and practice which she sees at the centre of an emancipatory social science. Such research calls for empowering approaches whereby both researcher and researched become "the changer and the changed" (Lather 1986:263) which was our experience.

The Problem and Conceptual Frameworks

Toxic, radioactive and other carcinogens and mutagens cause and promote cancer and genetic mutations, and also weaken and destroy the immune system which then cannot not ward off immune deficiency related diseases such as cancer. But primary prevention, a category of strategies to keep people from getting cancer in the first place, is mostly considered a hypothetical concept by the mainstream medical establishment who oppose, disregard or marginalize these relationships, although this is beginning to change. (The mainstream includes most physicians, scientists and pharmaceutical corporations, the latter of whom may also manufacture pesticides and other toxic products (Proctor 1996). Most cancer agencies state that if people take personal responsibility for their lifestyles they can prevent cancer (Canadian Cancer Society 1995). This is wise practice, however, the implication is that if people behave accordingly and still get cancer then it is somehow their fault. This "blaming the victim" is a convenient way of avoiding the larger environmental and social issues that frame individual experience.

Largely due to breast cancer and other related epidemics, women's, environmental groups, health advocates, some cancer activists, scientists and others have been demanding a shift away from the biomedical model. This model largely focuses on screening, testing (machines), molecular biology, genetic research and treatment (drugs) searching for "magic bullet cures". They want a change towards prevention and the inclusion of more balanced holistic, indigenous and complementary medicine approaches to health. Our circle agreed with the ideas in the Report of the Ontario Task Force on the Primary Prevention of Cancer (1995) which promotes the "precautionary principle" which calls for consideration of "weight of evidence" of a problem rather than the demand for absolute scientific proof that a particular contaminant causes a specific condition. It states that if we are to err, it should be on the side of caution.

Emergent Findings

We used social and collective ways to draw out knowledge and analysis such as stories and experiences, organizing conferences and workshops together; developing a critical analysis of both external structures of power as well as our own organizational limitations; supporting each other in numerous ways; community meetings, a concert, banners, "Connections", the newsletter of the Women's Network on Health and the Environment, contributing ideas for the video **Exposure: Environmental Links to Breast Cancer,** and other activities. Our final project was a workshop where community people helped develop the resource guide Taking Action for Prevention: A Community Handbook to accompany the video Exposure.

Our research findings reflected feminist learning processes and actions, alternatives to biomedical models and contributions to other social, political, cultural movements. Despite the noted roadblocks, we found evidence of new phenomena, increased learning, engagement and support, increased confidence in some scientists and activists, increased stability and legitimacy of our concerns in the public domain with new strategies emerging in social, cultural, political, economic, health, workplace contexts and particularly with breast cancer survivors, all of which have implications for future learning and advocacy. In general, we saw making skills widely available to women as a necessity in these challenges. We agreed that you don't have to be an expert to start with, with practice, you can become very good at what you do.

Developing praxis with breast cancer survivors led to the notion of preventing recurrence as well as primary prevention. They proposed approaching survivors with practical things they could do - starting with what was possible in their own lives on good nutrition, with plants (that absorb formaldehyde), preventing exposure to heavy metals, using safe cleaning products, looking at their diets...but also taking the next step and questioning the use of pesticides and food processing, learning the importance of holistic approaches, detoxifying the body as environmental concerns and immune system building go together. Survivors also noted that when people are first diagnosed and may be sick and frightened, you can't mix both support and advocacy, they just need support. Advocacy can come later when they are less stressed. They also specified needs of women in particular cultural communities as well as issues around environmental justice.

Other activities and proposals dealt with education at many levels including with health professionals, the media and policy makers to stop environmental deregulation, to work on economic literacy (to encourage people to buy mutual funds and RRSP's in ethical investments rather than the corporate polluters, and to put funds in credit unions which support community initiatives and other similar programs. We noted that health and environment should always go together as a partnership.

Perhaps a large part of our accomplishments were in the learning and doing in the circle itself. We were a group of women who came to know and care about each other in ways that were conducive to feminist transformative learning. We enjoyed and supported each other, laughed a lot, shared our personal, social, cultural and political experiences and often worked hard together. Our actions join with those who have gone before and those who will struggle in the future.

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Koranic Learning and Local Development in West Africa

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Abstract/*Résumé*

Koranic learning constitutes one of the most widely spread forms of basic education in West Africa, but its practical applications and relations to local development are poorly understood. This paper presents a field study of those relationships. / *L'enseignement corainque en Afrique de l'ouest constitue un système submergé d'éducation de base à travers la région, dont la nature et le rôle sont fort mal compris. Cette communication présente les résultats d'une étude conduite sur le terrain pour mieux saisir les dynamiques en question.*

Introduction

What are the "practical" competencies that students acquire at different levels of West African Koranic schooling? What are the various daily uses to which such skills are put and the networks through which they are developed and applied? Koranic schooling in its many forms constitutes a long-standing parallel system of education throughout the Sahel and in much of the larger West African region -- one that has operated for centuries, yet remains relatively unknown to development planners and donors and is therefore seldom taken into explicit account in their policies and strategies.

Koranic learning neither can nor should be reduced to strictly "utilitarian" terms. Like any predominantly religious form of instruction, Islamic schooling is designed to address first and foremost the spiritual needs of its charges and to offer them avenues for growth in the faith. In examining its secular impacts, we are therefore obviously dealing with what those most concerned would consider at most secondary or spillover effects of Koranic study. The focus of this study implies no disregard or disrespect for the primarily religious vocation of Islamic schooling, but simply constitutes an attempt to begin taking account of its parallel functions and effects -- some of which are arguably that much more important precisely because they are exercised in a religiously-appropriate form.

Four research teams in four separate countries -- Burkina Faso, Guinea (Conakry), Niger and Senegal -- were engaged to investigate the topic under the auspices of the USAID-funded "ABEL" Project (Achieving Basic Education and Literacy) and with the technical support and coordination of Florida State University. Studies were qualitative and monographic but necessarily brief, given time and budgetary constraints. In all, researchers carried out inquiries in 18 communities spread across 11 regions of the countries concerned and interviewed personnel and "stakeholders" of 18 Islamic schools.

Background: The history and social role of Koranic schooling in West Africa

A millenary tradition anchored in faith and commerce

Islam has an extended history in West Africa and Islamic educational systems have in fact operated there many times longer than have Western ones. The Islamic faith first conquered North Africa in the 7th century. By the 10th century, communities of Muslim merchants and scholars had been established in several commercial centers of the Western Sahara and the Sahel. (e.g., Hiskett ,1994).

From a socio-economic point of view, Islam spread across West Africa principally through the effects of trade and war. Though personal conversion and the doctrine of God's unity and transcendence were the principal motive forces at the individual level, at the societal one political and commercial movements provided the vehicle through which the faith was disseminated. Trans-Saharan trade flourished in pre-colonial times and carried most of the considerable merchandise exchanged between Africa and Europe from the 11th to the 16th centuries. The backbone of trans-Saharan commerce initially consisted of networks of towns established along trade routes by itinerant merchants from North Africa, gradually sedentarized and/or replaced by local groups. The proceeds of this trade furnished much of the revenue needed for State-building, and conversion to Islamic faith often therefore began with local rulers. A strong association between Islamic networks on the one hand, and traditional commercial networks and power structures on the other, persists to this day.

The educational system developed in this way had a number of characteristics that survive largely intact to the present day:

(a) It was distinctly hierarchical: the axis of dissemination was always from intellectual master to student, from *al-fiqh* to *al-murid.*

(b) Females in general had distinctly less access to learning opportunities and status advancement in that culture than did men. Mohammed and his wife made an explicit attempt to instruct women and girls. But such relative gender equity appears to have fallen victim to political infighting in the years after the Prophet's death.

(c) At the same time, this network had certain democratic characteristics that often go unnoticed. To begin with, neither in Islam as disseminated in Africa nor in its Arabian origins is there any priestly caste per se. The commoner learned in the Koran may in addition challenge temporal authority when its comportment transgresses Islamic norms. Finally, the system was highly decentralized de facto: the activities of marabouts and imams were never centrally coordinated.

(d) Even at the village level, the Islamic movement remained in many respects a "missionary" phenomenon, because the struggle with local animisms and sources of power was never entirely won and the concern to renew the vigor and content of the faith (*tajdid*) led both to recurrent revivals and reform movements and to a longer-term accommodation with older cultural forms.

(e) Islamic culture and its institutions thus evolved into a relatively supple social framework for West African development, one marked both by a common core and by numerous local adaptations and "colorings".

The invasion of the European powers, which turned in the late 19th century from control of trade and external commerce to actual occupation of West African territory, effectively muzzled a simultaneous effort on the part of Islamic rulers and brotherhoods in the region to extend their own influence and develop subcontinent-wide bases of power. Early colonial leaders -- and the French in particular -- therefore generally saw in Islam a serious rival, and sought to neutralize it. Later colonial leaders gradually developed a policy designed to use and subvert Islam, in which certain networks of marabouts and imams were rewarded for acting as conveyor belts for administrative policy.

Early and late, European-language schooling was promoted as an antidote to Islamic learning and a vehicle for the transmission of "civilized" culture. As one result, leaders of African Islamic culture in many areas of West Africa came to see these institutions as "the white man's school" and to identify them implicitly or explicitly as seedbeds of heresy and immorality.

Though the situation differs markedly from country to country, the numbers and proportions of Muslims continue to grow throughout much of the region. In Senegal, the percentage of the population reporting itself as Islamic grew from under 50% in 1950 to over 90% in 1990; and in Mali fully one-quarter of formal primary school students were in Islamic institutes (*médersas)* by the mid-1980s .

The structure of a submerged system

The system of Islamic learning across West Africa is several-tiered though less rigidly structured than its Western counterpart. It now includes a traditional track (the Koranic sequence *per se*), a formal school or "modern" equivalent (Franco-Arab schools, sometimes called *médersa*), and intermediate or hybrid forms often referred to as "improved Koranic schooling." At the base of the traditional network are the "*maktab*" or Koranic schools, the primary level of the system, where children begin, starting somewhere between the ages of 3 and 10, to learn the Koran and the basic duties of Islamic life. Next come the "*madris*" or secondary schools where those who have essentially memorized and transcribed large portions (at least) of the Koran progress to a study of what is referred to as "Islamic science" (*ilm)*, including the written traditions of the religion and a variable amount of other didactic material. A few select students proceed beyond this level to advanced study either with famed imams and marabouts of the region or at Islamic universities in North Africa and other Muslim countries. (e.g. Goody, 1975).

The traditional Koranic system is by far the most widespread branch, as well as the historical predecessor and base of all the others.

Foreground: Learning Outcomes and Practical Applications of Koranic Schooling

Field studies conducted in Guinea, Mali, Niger and Senegal offered an occasion to "ground-truth" or verify some of the generalities about Islamic instruction and its applications derived from the literature and to begin obtaining the sort of empirical data on learning outcomes and practical uses of this kind of training that is so scarce in published material. The most significant observations made during the field work are summarized below:

1. **The widespread nature of Koranic education:** At least in its elementary forms -- represented by local Koranic schools -- Islamic learning is very widespread throughout the regions and countries under consideration. An estimate of the number of such schools in Niger in 1990 put them at 40,000. This form of education constitutes in reality an alternate and (to official and Western ideas) largely hidden knowledge culture rivaling -- and frequently intersecting or hybridizing with -- the official one, even though in most African countries the basic institutions of the system -- the *maktab* -- have not been considered as schools at all.
2. **The long history of Islamic learning in West Africa:** Koranic students, teachers and believers in general throughout the regions visited are highly aware of the long history of the faith in West Africa and of many of its greatest scholars and teachers. In short, there is a strong trans-national culture at work here that cultivates deep allegiance.

3. **Considerable variation in nature, sequencing and quality of instruction:** Despite these tendencies toward uniformity in underlying religious culture and basic orientation, the nature and quality of instruction in Koranic schools and the Islamic system as a whole vary noticeably from one region to another.
4. **Certain marabouts and brotherhoods of marabouts have developed and exercise major political and economic power in the countries concerned.** Those involved for years in the cash crop trade in Niger, Mali and Senegal, for example, have developed well-capitalized commercial networks with ramifications in urban real estate and industry, and increasingly abroad. All this considerably strengthens the attraction of different forms of Koranic education as gateways to an alternate and sometimes thriving economic and political system.
5. **Access and equity:** In all areas visited, the vast majority of children do attend Koranic school. In a few regions, moreover, the proportion is virtually as great among girls as among boys, as in the areas visited in the Republic of Guinea. Elsewhere, boys are in the majority, but freauently in ratios of only 3/2 or 2/1.
6. **Student flows:** The "depth" of Islamic instruction in the regions visited is quite variable, but in general a significant proportion of male students who remain beyond the initial Koranic lessons do continue to some level of higher study, whereas few women do.
7. **Literacy and numeracy outcomes:** Understanding of either modern or classical Arabic over and beyond the Koranic texts themselves is quite rare, except among those having pursued studies in Arabic-speaking countries. The highest levels of practical literacy -- that is, ability to read and write correspondence, keep records and generally communicate in writing -- are most frequently found therefore in those areas like upland Guinea where there is a developed system for transcribing African language with Arabic characters. In the Fouta Djalon, 93% if the sample of 77 male Koranic "alumni" interviewed claimed reading and writing capacity in Arabic script.

   On the other hand, only 26% of the Guinean sample of former Koranic students considered themselves "numerate", a weakness characteristic of other sites as well, and largely attributable to the fact that mathematics has been associated with geomancy and occult arts in West African Islamic culture and therefore generally eliminated from the curriculum.
8. **Technical and vocational outcomes:** While vocational initiation is not an explicit curricular component of Koranic schooling, most students who continue beyond the most elementary level do end up working in some apprenticed position either to the marabout or to an affiliated craftsman or merchant, if only to help pay for his or her upkeep and tuition. Koranic schooling tends to include a practical element integrated into the community; and Koranic students are imbued with the notion that they will need to fend for themselves or find appropriate sponsorship beyond a certain age. This prompts one of our Senegalese researchers to remark, "*L'école coranique forme des créateurs d'activités, alors que le système formel forme des demandeurs d'emploi*" ("Koranic schools train employment-creators, while the formal system trains employment-seekers.")
9. **General intellectual development**:, The penchant for memorization in Koranic schools has positive as well as negative consequences. Students develop sometimes prodigious capacities for memory and recall of detail which can then be exercised in practical domains like inventories and historical reconstructions. In addition, the highly time-ordered regime of

Islamic piety tends to induce a level of self-discipline and time organization that may have other applications.

10. **General moral development:** Despite examples of hypocrisy no less frequent in the African Islamic tradition than in that of any other religion, Koranic training reinforces the strict moral teachings of the faith and is a generally-accepted reference for future public service.
11. **Individual applications:** The most frequent secular application of Koranic learning at the individual level is writing and correspondence, and the most prominent career destination of accomplished Koranic students is to become themselves marabouts or imams as there is considerable demand for teachers and dispensers of religious and incantatory services, given the rapid expansion of West African Islam in recent years. Over a quarter of the Guinean respondents, however, cited the exercise of local public functions as a practical outcome of their training, and similar trends are evident across the region.
12. **Collective applications:** Islamic morality, jurisprudence and authority have been used as the backbone of traditional governance for centuries throughout the Sahel. In fact, most of the vocabulary in major Sahelian languages having to do not just with religion, but with laws, local administration, diplomacy and higher learning as well is derived or directly borrowed from Arabic. And, as pointed out above, traditional forms of both intraregional and international commerce have historically been in the hands of an Islamic elite.

Conclusions

The consequence of these factors is that basic Islamic instruction -- of the kind dispensed in local Koranic schools -- seems to have three essential dimensions of practical application and impact in the areas visited during the study:

- It constitutes an introduction to the technology of writing -- and, to a lesser extent, that of numeracy -- for a sizable proportion of the population, both men and women.
- It is a training as well for local leadership, since solid Islamic instruction is generally accepted to be an indicator of morality, honesty and discipline and therefore a primary qualification for assuming positions of responsibility.
- In addition, it has always been -- and, given recent disaffection with formal schooling, has increasingly become -- an avenue for social and economic advancement because of the close relationship between Islamic networks and traditional commercial ones throughout the region. Koranic school graduates are more likely to find employment or apprenticeship with traditional merchants and in informal sector marketing operations.

The hidden system of Islamic education in West Africa is therefore a player of prime importance in any basic education or decentralized development of the 21st century.

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LEARNING FROM CHANGES IN LEADERSHIP: A STUDY OF INFORMAL AND INCIDENTAL LEARNING AT THE GRASSROOTS LEVEL

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Abstract: This presentation reports on research conducted in two rural parishes which experienced a significant shift in leadership from male clerics to female lay pastors. The researcher examines the informal and incidental learning in the two parishes, which resulted in significant changes in communal beliefs and practices.

Introduction

Although religious institutions recognize that they teach through their daily practices and rituals (e.g., Beatty, 1989; International Council, 1990, #67), they infrequently analyse the adult educational implications of this teaching. One particular practice, which is teaching informally and incidentally, is the appointment of a non-ordained (lay), female pastor to lead the parish and to celebrate Sunday Worship in the Absence of a Priest (SWAP). This practice is increasingly common in rural, and especially northern areas of Canada, as it becomes more difficult to recruit sufficient numbers of ordained males. This phenomenon challenges two core concepts in Roman Catholicism. The first is the centrality of the Sunday Eucharist which is intended to be presided over by an ordained male. The second is parish leadership, which has been the task of an ordained male. The question this research asks is: What is being learned informally and incidentally during this time of change, and what are the conditions that support this learning?

Related Literature

SWAP and lay leadership of Roman Catholic parishes has been investigated by theologians (Dallen, 1994; Gilmour, 1986) and sociologists (Wallace, 1992), but this change has not been investigated by adult educators. Meanwhile, anecdotal reports suggest that parishioners in female-led parishes are rapidly changing their beliefs about appropriate leadership styles, the importance of ordained leaders, and the understanding of Eucharist.

Adult education literature is the lens through which I attempt to understand and interpret this experience. Specifically, I use the theory of informal and incidental learning that Marsick and Watkins (1990, 1992) propose as a means of understanding the adult learning that occurs in the daily practice of these parishes. Informal learning theory explores how people learn on the job and through daily interactions, outside the mainstream of academe. According to Hasselkus and Ray (1988), "Informal learning is the lifelong process of reflection-in-action (Schon, 1983) by which every person makes meaning out of their experiences and life situations" (p. 32). Incidental learning is the by-product or unintended outcome of a learning experience.

Hasselkus and Ray (1988) argue that informal learning must be studied in its social context, specifically within the context of daily life. According to Hasselkus and Ray, it is only within the minutiae of the every day that we can understand the adult learning that has occurred. In this study, I enter into the lifeworld of parishioners and non-ordained female pastors to document the adult educational implications of their experience. I ask: What are the contextual factors that contribute to your learning? What is being taught about Eucharist and leadership? What are the implications? I also asked these pastors questions about what they had done deliberately to educate parishioners.

Description of the Situation and Method

I studied two distinct Roman Catholic parishes within one diocese. I visited these parishes on two occasions in the spring of 1997 for the following purposes: (a) to observe the female pastors interacting with parishioners (b) to interview the pastors and the parishioners, and (c) to accompany the pastors on visits to parishioners. I conducted 2 participant observations and 12 interviews. Each interview was tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed. Themes emerged from the data about informal and incidental learning, and with regard to the conditions that supported or delimited this learning. I report the data gathered from both pastors and parishioners because the pastor group was limited to 4 people, and because the pastors identified themselves as co-learners with the parishioners. Where possible, however, I identify the role of the speaker as parishioner or pastor.

Findings

There were two types of findings in this study. The first relates to the content of the learning and the second concerns the conditions which supported or limited the learning.

Themes of Learning

Understanding of Eucharist. Sunday celebration of the Eucharist by an ordained male is the Roman Catholic norm. SWAP, however, involves the "distribution of Eucharist" but not consecration (mass). Among those interviewed, this change in practice was a non-issue, despite church norms. One pastor remarked," It doesn't matter really that much who consecrates it.... People have a sense that going to the liturgy of the word [and distribution of communion] is just as important as going to mass." Similarly, a parishioner reported, "We understand that Jesus is present in the assembly and not just in the bread." Another pastor remarked, "I have a hard time believing what this sharing of Eucharist means, if it doesn't mean people gathered together." Another parishioner pointed out that lay presiders are teaching people that "Jesus is present in the Word and that we have neglected the Word to our detriment." In both parishes, there was an attempt by the pastor to have a priest present occasionally for Eucharist, especially for key liturgical celebrations. One pastor discussed the problem she faced at Easter when there was no priest readily available. A parishioner said, "Can't you do it? You're good enough for us any other time of the year. Why not now?" Clearly, the personal relationship with the pastor superceded the need in the parishioner's mind for a sacramental minister.

Understanding of Church. Parishioners repeated over and over that they could now see that church was no longer "me versus them"; that it is everyone together, pastors and parishioners alike. Parishioners provided evidence of a high degree of critical reflection on the church and its teaching, and subsequently a change in their practice to correspond. They repeated constantly, "We are church." As one female parishioner put it, "People don't care who's feeding them. The important thing is to be fed." This change from a hierarchical model to a more egalitarian one, in which parishioners have ownership, was voiced often. Parishioners noted that the pastors encouraged them to make decisions and to take ownership of their parish. To aid in the process, the pastors invited committee members to the parish home for meetings, a clear departure from previous practice. According to one pastor, "The parishioners tell me they are far more comfortable now."

To underscore the growing acceptance of SWAP one parishioner said, "People who go to church, go to church no matter what. If they don't, they don't." In another parish, a male parishioner said, "So long as I was getting the church service, it doesn't matter [who presides]."

Understanding of Leadership. Participants were overwhelmingly in favour of the new pastoral leaders. Though they had traditionally believed that a parish should have ordained leaders, they had adjusted quickly to the new type of pastor and were hesitant to go backwards, despite church teaching that non-ordained leadership was a temporary situation. In fact, in both parishes, when the female pastor was not present, the parishioners who had been trained to lead, did so with no reported resistance from their congregation. The attendance rate in the parishes did not change significantly with the change in leader of service. One parishioner expressed his understanding of the situation in the following words: "When people come together to praise God, what happens, happens. We come together to praise God and one of us leads."

A second aspect of leadership that seemed to be important was the communal way in which decisions were made under the leadership of the female pastors. This collegiality was seen to be a specifically female style of leadership and was a welcome departure from previous leadership styles which were considered to be more patriarchal. One parishioner said, "This is really our parish--it doesn't matter who the bishop puts in as pastor." Other parishioners, in commenting on the female leadership style said, "Women pastors really pray the prayers. Now for the first time I am experiencing the feminine face of God."

Conditions that Support Informal and Incidental Learning

As Jarvis (1987) points out, people may or may not learn from their experience. For learning to occur, there has to be some element of reflection on action. According to Marsick and Watkins (1992) informal and incidental learning from experience can be enhanced by strategies such as networking, modelling and coaching. In these parishes parishioners learned in several ways. The first way was through networking at regional meetings. In meeting parishioners from other parishes, they came to realize how unique their situation is, and how well it works in comparison. A second way that supported learning was modelling. The female pastors indicated that they were aware of their new role in the parish and how hard they needed to work to "earn" respect. One pastor commented, "Women work harder just to be equal to the men." Modelling was identified as the primary catalyst for the change in the parishioners' perspective that resulted in close identification of parishioners with their female pastors. One parishioner said, "She's like yourself--she can come into our home at any time." Whereas religious leadership once was the prerogative of ordained males, now the parishioners saw it as a role for lay people such as their pastors and themselves. A third way that promoted learning was coaching. The female pastors trained lay people in their parishes to lead services when they were not there, and to take responsibility for their parish. These ways resulted in a stronger parish structure.

The Theory of Informal and Incidental Learning

The factors that parishioners identified as contributing to their learning during the transition to lay leadership are consistent with those that Marsick and Watkins (1992) discuss. The first learning factor was their experience of the change. Though they did not choose this situation, pastors and parishioners alike were forced to accept it. When they realized they had to work together, and with a female pastor, they found ways to function effectively. This shift resulted in a new system was as effective or more effective than the old.

A second factor was that learning was influenced by the organizational context. Because parishioners work within a parish structure that is typically hierarchical, they were positively influenced by the bishop's support of the new situation. One pastor pointed out, "The bishop himself reminds us often to remember that Jesus is present in the Word and that we ought to treat this [SWAP] as very important." Of significance is the fact that despite their understanding of their own identity as the church, the parishioners did not abandon their respect for hierarchy. The fact that a priest presided at mass on an itinerant basis added legitimacy to the situation. One female pastor reported that although the priest arrives to preside at funerals, he refuses to give the sermon. As he says, "You know your people better than I do--you are the one who should do it." The priest also expresses his opinion on this matter, thereby demonstrating his confidence in the pastor's ability, and raising the congregation's acceptance of her.

In both parishes, the learning occurred in an ecumenical context. Both were a mix of Protestants and Catholics; because the Protestants had a tradition of lay led leadership, the concept was not new. The close proximity of both religious groups and the intermarrying among family members, meant that they learned from each other. One parishioner said, "I notice because my brother-in-law is a United Church pastor, too. They [United Church parishioners] have a big say in who they are going to hire as pastor. With us it seems like they pick the names out of a hat." This dissatisfaction with the seemingly authoritarian attitude in the Roman Catholic church increased parishioner readiness to accept Protestant/lay leadership practices.

A third learning fact was action. Parishioners were forced to function as a team when no authoritarian leadership was provided. Parishioners consistently remarked that the female pastor established multiple committees to organize events, plan liturgies, and organize socials, as the way for the parishioners to take ownership. This responsibility was evidently new to the parishioners, and also very welcomed. One pastor revealed, "When I came here I tried not take the lead--I stand back--I say it is *our* decision." After a period of several years, one parishioner said, "Oh, if the pastor is not here, one of the lay people will do it. The pastor taught us well."

The fourth learning factor is referred to as non-routine conditions. The parishioners would not have chosen to be without an ordained male. Given the options of a female pastor or a leaderless parish they chose the female pastor and SWAP. When they had the opportunity to critically reflect (Schon, 1983) on their choice, they were pleased with the outcome. Another non-routine aspect that contributed to the ability of these parishioners to accept change was their non-traditional status within a traditional diocese. One parishioner said, "We were pilot projects even before we knew what they were. If it wasn't us trying something new, it was [another community]. They're guinea pigs up there too."

The fifth factor is a mixture of proactivity, creativity, and critical reflection. Some parishioners learned from the opportunity to be proactive in their parish, to take leadership and make plans for the future, especially to prepare themselves for leadership. They learned to be creative in their tasks. Others learned through their critical reflections, following discussion with those in other parishes or at regional gatherings.

Other aspects of Marsick and Watkins'(1992) theory are difficult to measure: (a) learning has a tacit dimension, and (b) learning is limited by task, problem-solving ability, and intelligence. This fact aside, the adult learning that has occurred in these two parishes provides sufficient evidence that informal and incidental learning has taken place.

Discussion of Findings

The learning that occurred in these parishes is informal and incidental. Though none of the parishioners had extensive background in practical theology or collegial leadership, they quickly adapted to, and became proponents of, female pastoral leaders. Similarly, although they knew the traditional importance that Roman Catholics attach to Sunday worship with a priest, they quickly changed their focus to what was more important to them--collegiality, community, shared leadership, and the assembly as Eucharist.

These changes in practical theological beliefs are very significant. They call for more deliberate teaching efforts to explain the sacraments, and to allow people to theologize on their own experiences. They call for new ways of teaching and learning as church. If the central focus of church is Eucharist presided over by a priest, and most Catholics in these parishes do not see why they need a sacramental pastor, then the theology of Eucharist has to be rethought so as to reflect more adequately parishioners' lived experiences. Whatever the case, this form of learning ought not be ignored.

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CONSTRUCTED IDENTITIES IN PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH DISCOURSE

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Abstract

The liberal humanist construct of an 'autonomous individual' is shown to be central to discursive repertoires of participation and empowerment that circulate in participatory research texts. These repertoires reproduce racialized identities such as 'ordinary people' and secure legitimacy for another constructed identity, the 'participatory researcher.'

Le construct humaniste libéral d'un 'individu autonome' est central dans les repertoires de discours de "participation" et d'"empowerment" qui circulent dans les textes de la recherche participatoire. Ces repertoires reproduisent des identités racializés comme 'des gens ordinaires' et securent la legitimité d'un autre identité construit, la 'recherchiste participatoire.'

Participatory research refers to a set of principles and related practices that are intended to distribute power more equitably in the research process: "PR proposes returning to ordinary people the power to participate in knowledge creation, the power that results from such participation, and the power to utilize knowledge" (Maguire, 1987:39).

This paper interrogates participatory research discourse to reveal the processes of racialized identity construction that underpin common sense understandings of participation and empowerment in the research process. The 'autonomous individual' of liberal humanist discourse is shown to be central to discursive repertoires such as listening to people's voices, validating their experiences, and letting people's voices be heard. Such repertoires circulate extensively in both scholarly and non-refereed or community-based participatory research texts. I argue that these repertoires reproduce racialized identities such as 'ordinary people' that secure legitimacy and innocence for another relational identity, the 'participatory researcher.'

A methodology that integrates critical race theory with feminist poststructural perspectives in the practice of discourse analysis provides a framework for this interrogation of identity in participatory research. In the larger study from which these arguments were developed, autobiographical data, transcripts from interviews with participatory researchers, and scholarly literature on participatory research provide sites for discourse analysis. It is proposed that discursive practices producing racialized identities have material effects in the research setting and have an impact on how identities and labour are valued. Strategies for being vigilant about discursive practices and their material effects in participatory research contexts are proposed.

The Racialization of Identity in Participatory Research Discourse

As Foucault (1972, 1980) has demonstrated, in any discourse there are multiple layers of regimes of truth to be peeled back. Rather than accepting participatory research as an oppositional discourse (challenging the master narrative of traditional research methods), I examine the embeddedness of its assumptions in the master narrative of modern liberalism. It is assumed there is an identity called 'ordinary people' whose own experience of a problem is the best place to investigate it and look for solutions. The importance of validating the people's 'voice,' rather than prioritizing expert opinions, is stressed. This research approach claims to dissolve the constructed dualities of the expert/the people and knowledge/experience. Enabling all stakeholders to participate equally in the research process is a fundamental objective underlying the wide range of research principles, procedures and tools advocated. Finally, the empowerment of individuals and communities is assumed to be an important impact and central goal of participatory research.

What becomes apparent about these principles is that they depend upon the modern liberal notion of an autonomous individual. To imagine equal participants in the research process, it is necessary to use the constructs of freedom, choice, contract and equality that constitute the universalized individual. Only starting with individuals can we conceive of the positivistic notions of experience, voice and participation that define the participatory research approach and accord it legitimacy. Empowerment and liberation are presented as logical extensions of ensuring or enhancing the freedom, choice and equality of the individual.

Goldberg in *Racist Culture* shows that racialized discourse and racist expression is constitutive of the modern individual by delineating the historically specific discursive formations of the Enlightenment (1993:26-30). The ideals of rationality, autonomy, freedom, equality, and the resurrection of classical values of beauty that characterize the autonomous individual are produced in opposition to a racial other: "The rational, hence autonomous and equal subjects of the Enlightenment project, turn out, perhaps unsurprisingly, to be exclusively white, male, European, and bourgeois" (1993:28). Racialized constructions of the autonomous individual rooted in Enlightenment philosophy reemerge in the notion of 'equal participant' in participatory research.

Participatory research is engaged in a quest to transform the structures of domination by constituting "people-as-subjects" of research who are active, self-conscious of their own knowledge, and participate fully in decisions about the production of knowledge. But this can lead to exoticization of "popular knowledge" that must be 'saved' and 'restored' by virtue of its intimate connection to nature. This 'othering' process sets up groups such as women, people from the Third World and native peoples as the 'bearers' of ancient wisdom, to be saved by researchers who 'value' and incorporate their participation in 'knowledge restoration' projects. This Orientalist discourse (Said, 1978) masks the relations of power producing and maintaining these categories through racialized and gendered exclusions.

This is the tension existing in participatory research literature. The 'oppressed' are produced as 'victims' within the dominant positivist North American and European research paradigm and then as 'free agents' within the participatory research paradigm. Inherent in the notion of a 'free agent' is the bestowing of freedom on a formerly excluded but deserving subject by a benevolent, autonomous entity: the participatory researcher. The 'people' are set up to be saved in a way that secures the superiority of those who will be the saviours.

Being Vigilant About Discursive Practices

'Empowering the oppressed,' or 'researching with the community:' these are discursive repertoires that obscure relations of power. They essentialize identities such as 'the researcher' or 'the community,' which secures a position of innocence for particpatory researchers. People getting their voices heard, sharing their experiences, participating in research projects and feeling empowered is a version of 'interested objectivity.' These representations of social justice require essentialized identities that render intelligible the 'return of power' to 'the people.' Interrogating this discourse and recognizing how it constitutes us with racist and exclusionary effects is a crucial step in tracing our implication in material relations. We must pay attention to how the discourse of participatory research regulates how we think about social change.

Powersharing and collaboration *can* bring different results, but this does not happen without vigilant and ongoing questioning. The terms of the research and its purpose must be continually negotiated. Is this purpose being fulfilled, and for whom? While some are benefitting from the research, who is not benefitting or is being adversely affected by racist discursive and material practices the research sustains? Representations of collaboration in participatory research that erase the conflicts will undermine anti-subordination struggles. We need to realize that if relations of domination are going to be redressed, then not everyone will benefit from the research.

Toward Anti-Racist Participatory Research

> I was forced to continually confront the contradictions of my own life choices. For example, to what extent am I willing to live out my values and philosophies in concrete daily actions.
> -Patricia Maguire, *Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach*

As George Dei (1996) makes very clear, it is not enough to expose, critique and condemn racist structures, discourses and practices if we are not prepared to take action to transform them. I have attempted to show that racialized constructs and identities that draw authorizing power from the discourse of modern liberalism pervade participatory research. Modernist assumptions that equality can be achieved by empowering the individual mask complex systems of power relations. How do we resist the racist and racializing effects of this modern liberal discourse? How do we predict, recognize and secure anti-racism transformation of institutions and practices and avoid ineffective, neutral racism-sustaining practices?

Making anti-racism changes within educational institutions and community organizations; racial minority hirings: taking responsibility and being accountable for racism means many things in practice. If participatory research is to have anti-subordination impact in the lives of people, we need to trace its material structures. Remaining vigilant about discursive practices is central to tracing material relations.

Strategies for Resisting Privilege

Analytical tools like accounting for our subject position and excavating modern liberal discourse are the same tools that must inform our daily practices as researchers. I am wary of strict adherence to the principles of participation when there is a broad range of research approaches that have social justice as their goal. But I also think it is worthwhile to develop guidelines for community organizations, researchers, institutes and funding bodies that are set up to facilitate grassroots involvement in research projects.[1] What follows are some of the ideas that emerge for tracing material relations as they structure 'community,' funding, hiring, and the benefits of participatory research.

The 'Community' and Funding

The constitution of any 'community' involves exclusionary processes. How do relations of domination structure who is 'in' and who is 'out?' As well, claiming a collective identity does not preclude multiple and shifting identities that give rise to power differentials within communities. It is important to trace how the concerns of specific groups are marginalized in the research process, and make changes. Sometimes this means forming more representative research committees and rethinking the foundational assumptions underlying the research.

Competition for funding can pre-determine the discourse of a project in the proposal writing and grant application stages. Prioritizing the short-term goal of acquiring funds can jeopardize the long-term goals of the project. Funding linked to corporate and government power can shift the research lens to protect the concerns of capital and the status quo and sometimes alternate funding sources need to be considered.

Funding requirements such as adherence to initial proposal, deadlines and traditional research reporting styles tend to divert resources away from involving people as researchers in ways that benefit them. A common excuse for 'failed' participatory research is a lack of time and resources for training. Often discourses of 'skills' and 'abilities' as attributes of 'the individual' are what is constituting perceived training 'needs.' Guaranteeing access to power and resources for those who are marginalized is an alternative way to frame 'empowerment' that avoids the paradigm of 'skills and training.'

Hiring the 'Best' Researcher

Many participatory research projects seek legitimacy in the eyes of the state, the scientific community, funders, the media, and the public by complying with requirements laid down for traditional research. This leads to the 'need' for research expertise and the creation of contract consultants. 'Professionals' are hired so that the project's documentation and communication (i.e. budgets, progress reports, public reports, etc.) meet the standards of the 'outside' community and policy-making institutions. This is how participatory research is complicit in structures that privilege the already privileged while professing to be in the interests of the oppressed.

If the research goals of the project indicate a need for expertise not found within the current research group, then perhaps those goals need to be re-evaluated. If the need remains, hiring outside researchers is an obvious next step, but there are many options that bring anti-subordination goals to the forefront. Job descriptions and qualification requirements should not privilege dominant groups and penalize subordinate groups. A researcher with a critical perspective and who identifies with the research agenda will take the project further than well written reports. Taking a strong anti-subordination position may open up new avenues of funding, replacing those lost when status quo funding requirements are compromised.

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[1] Suggesting there may be strategies to improve the contribution of participatory research to anti-subordination, does not foreclose the discussion of whether or not this truly is the preferable option for research with social justice ends. Supporting more minority researchers is another anti-racism strategy for recognizing research that critiques and guides the transformation of systems of power and domination.

Candidates for participatory research contract positions need to account for how they may be positioned dominantly in the research context. If your candidacy or grant application relies upon vectors of traditional social power to eliminate others from the competition, your motivations for engaging in this research must be questioned. Some options for real power-sharing to consider are job-sharing, job-shadowing, salary-splitting, salary equity models, team work, and volunteer advisory positions for those already in positions of power.

Who is Benefitting?

High consulting fees for 'professionals' and minimal honorariums for 'ordinary people' are not appropriate for a research team that values equally the contributions of each member. We must be attentive to how liberal discourses of merit and the market economy translate into wide gaps in renumeration and compensation between 'researchers' and 'participants.' Co-publication and lobbying institutions to offer academic credit opportunities for co-researchers are important steps to ensuring tangible and equitable benefits for everyone participating in a research project.

The Vigilant Researcher

Accountability is the most useful idea with which to summarize my conclusions. By this I mean taking responsibility to ensure that participation of all those involved in participatory research is supported with the recognition that we are not 'all equal' but are positioned by discourses, material structures and social practices in very unequal ways. I also mean taking responsibility for the effects of our discursive practices: identifying interpretive repertoires; recognizing their racist and exclusionary effects; and vigilantly replacing them with anti-racism practices. Finally, taking responsibility means to continually trace how we are implicated in the oppression of others: how their subordination is intertwined with our innocence. It is not enough to identify interlocking vectors of power and how we benefit from our position within them at the expense of others. We must strategize to make these relations visible in wider, public ways and make changes in our daily practices. For participatory researchers, this means letting go of an identity of 'innocent researcher' working in solidarity with the 'oppressed.' We can replace it with a vigilant researcher who charts their implication in others' subordination and gives up power and privilege in their anti-subordination research efforts. Anti-racism theory and practice would be central to this new framework for participatory research.

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FIXING THE WORLD?
PROBLEM-BASED LEARNING IN PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

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Abstract:

From a critical perspective, this paper raises questions about the assumptions and practice of 'problem-solving' as an approach to learning.

D'après un point de vue critique, cette article provoque des questions concernant 'la recherche des solutions aux problèmes' ('problem-solving') comme une méthode pedagogique.

In recent decades, attention in professional education has focused on understanding practice as a process of framing ill-structured problems and solving them in unpredictable "messy" contexts. A growing body of literature supports what has come to be known as problem-based learning (Albanese and Mitchell, 1993; Norman and Schmidt, 1992; Walton and Matthews, 1989). Problem-based learning (PBL) typically organizes curriculum around a series of "cases" profiling dilemmas of practice which student professionals read, "diagnose" and discuss, exploring strategies for solving these problems. Bligh (1995) describes problem-based learning as an approach which helps the learner frame experience as a series of problems to be solved, where the process of learning unfolds through the application of knowledge and skills to the solution of "real" problems in the contexts of "real" practice. Problem-based learning is often acclaimed in terms such as "active, self-directed" (Bernstein, et. al., 1995) and "student-centered" (Mann and Kaufman, 1995). In contrast, "traditional" teaching approaches are characterized as "didactic and directive", emphasizing recall of theoretical knowledge (Bligh, 1995; Mann and Kaufman, 1995). Advocates claim that PBL has revolutionized medical education (Ostbye, Robinson, and Weston, 1994). problem-based learning enjoys wide application in graduate business administration programs in North American universities, and has been used with educational administrators (Bridges, 1992; Bridges and Hallinger, 1991). Recently, problem-based learning has been adopted in teacher preparation programs (Hughes and Sears, 1994; Casey and Howson, 1993). Very little critical evaluation of problem-based learning has emerged. Critics seem to accept the philosophical premise of PBL, and quibble only about particular practices within its application (i.e., see Vernon (1995).

This paper raises questions about problem-based learning along two main dimensions: (1) its fundamental perspective conceptualizing life as problem-governed and professional practice as problem-solving, and (2) the use of problem-based learning as a pedagogical approach in pre-professional training. The intent is not to argue against problem-solving as an important activity, nor to advocate passivism or intellectual torpor in the face of cruelty, injustice, misery, or disease. But how are problems constituted? Whose epistemic authority is reinforced in their construction? What metaphors and presuppositions are embedded in problem-based learning? What subjectivities and what kind of society emerge when professional problem-solvers are taught to fix the world?

Professional practice as problem-solving

Problem-based learning centralizes professional practice in the activity of naming and solving problems. What does it mean to view an experience as a "problem"? The professional activity that Schön (1983) terms "problem-framing" places boundaries around a slice of fluid experience, transforming it into a fixed, stable structure with a linear narrative. This story is gathered into the eye of the problem-framer, who determines the protagonist and the essential causes of conflict or dilemma, then sets in motion a sequential series of actions towards resolution. Problem-framing designates what is normal and what is deviant. In fact, problem-based professional practice seeks the deviant in order to rehabilitate it. The problematiser presumes to ascertain the state of actual affairs from a stable (undefined) point of gaze. As Scheman (1993) has argued, in this gaze is embedded the rational mind posited by Descartes, standing over and in control of a mechanical world of orderly separation, while everything else -- the disorderly, the passionate, the uncontrollable -- is cast into shape as a "problem". In fact, in a "problem-framing" view of life, the world is locked into irrational and undesirable chaos that needs to be brought into redeeming order. A series of discursive oppositions underpin such a view: chaos/order, sickness/health, madness/sanity, irrational passion/reason. Michelson (1996) situates these dualisms in a gendered, cultured, and classed politics of knowledge, arguing that the problems discerned by the elite white professionals -- "the disorderly bodies of women, the disarray of working class neighborhoods, the steamy swamps of the colonial world" -- reflect an attempt to rationalize society and suppress all that is associated with bodily expression and desire.

Underpinning the problem-solver's desire can be discerned what Lyotard (1984) identified as modernity's grand narrative of emancipation. The essential project of science, and professionals as official practitioners of scientific knowledge, is to liberate humanity from its problems. A problem-based perspective attempts to reduce mystery, situational ambiguity, messy dynamics of human interaction, and life's essential difficulty to a pipeline of knowable and resolvable problems. Behind these "problems" lurk the specters of quandary, crisis, mess, emergency, suffering, and regression. Professional practice becomes analogous to a thoroughfare: the point is to keep the traffic moving without obstruction, to perpetuate the modernist pursuit of efficiency, predictability, productivity, measurable concrete outcomes, and unitary meaning subordinated to instrumentality. Fueling the modern rush to domesticate the wilderness, the world of human and natural struggle, is intolerance for mystery and deferral, a longing for closure and certainty, perhaps even fear of difficulty. Control is the dominant metaphor, and management of civil society the governing discipline.

Unfortunately in a culture inheriting the epistemological dualisms of Enlightenment, to be critical of such a view is to argue against progress and emancipation, to favor obscurantism and superstition over enlightenment, and to support passivity and acquiescence to oppression and pain. The dominant paradigm that suffering needs to be, or even can be, eradicated seems to be incontestable. The competency of a professional is judged by ability to find, define, and take action to fix human difficulty.

Once conjured to presence, a problem unleashes a sequence of behaviors. Activism is privileged, often in forms of aggressive intervention. The performativity principle champions efficiency/inefficiency as a dominant category (Usher and Edwards, 1994). Knowledge is commodified so it can be produced, transferred, and consumed in the service of diagnosing and eradicating problems. Even reflection and innovation are harnessed to the urgent preoccupation to find more effective, efficient, novel solutions. The competent professional is cast as the heroic problem-solver, saving those suffering in the "problematic" situation, incarnating human desire for mastery and control based on normative ideals for the world.

Problem-based professional practice is thus a discourse constituting the professional as the rightful epistemic authority, perpetuating a class of professional elite which dominate social order and knowledge. A discourse creates a field of knowledge by defining what is possible to say or think, declaring the bases for deciding what is true, and authorizing certain people to speak (Foucault, 1974: 49). Thus a discourse is highly exclusionary, and usually conceals its own mechanisms for maintaining dominance. In the problem-based discourse, solution is "truth" and the professional is custodian of the truth. The professional's normalizing gaze divines, adjudicates, and classifies the world's problems, then deploys its disciplinary knowledge to systematically reform and regulate these problems.

Human desire for closure and elimination of perceived obstacles helps consolidate power in the professional's knowledge (to the extent that knowledge sustains its credibility and perceived usefulness in a particular society). The professional is empowered as the active subject administering to the client, who is disempowered as passive object. Important questions are, Who is naming the problems? Is it possible that experts will create problems they are good at solving simply so that they will retain and expand the extent to which they are viewed as necessary?

The authority of the professional's knowledge and viewpoint is produced and reinforced in the act of solving problems. The resistant, the non-normative, and other challenging voices are designated deviant or diseased, objects to be cured. Thus professional groups can use the rhetoric of problem-solving to disguise their de facto political and cultural hegemony. Ladd (1983) argues that professional dominance extends to the realm of morality, for problem-framing-solving establishes professionals as "moral arbiters of what, in respect to professional services provided, is morally good for their clients, and perhaps even what is morally good for society" (Ladd, 1983, p. 12). Ethical questions attending professional practice become especially difficult to arbitrate in this system.

Conversely, professionals are shackled by their own privilege. Great responsibility is invested in those expected to perform healing miracles or pronounce the essential issues of public debate. Consequences of failure often incur public suspicion of professional motives, indignation, even rage and lawsuits. The "white knight" syndrome displaces impossible demands onto professionals to define increasingly complex human difficulty. This not only removes from the public both the liability and responsibility of reparation and sharing in the world's suffering, but also perpetuates an illusion that prediction and control are possible. Further, the myth of the expert solver disallows the professional from acting collaboratively as a participant in the situation, partly constituted by and helping to constitute the structures, actor relations and discourse of the situation itself. Instead the professional is configured as transcendent, isolated and "professionally" distant from relational interaction in the situation. Inherent in this myth is the belief that the self is capable of dispassionate, disengaged, "objective" participation, what Addelson (1994) calls the myth of the "judging observer". And paradoxically, while professionals subject clients and their experiences to the judging gaze of their vested authority, the professionals in turn are subjected as servants to sate the clients' desire.

Problem-based practice and problem-based learning presume the possibility of a detached knower, separate from time, place, social position, body, gender, and intimate relations. Problem-framing and solving is believed to emanate from a privileged normative standpoint which is generally unreflective about its own situatedness. The causal role of the professional self implicated in the history of the situation is generally invisible and irrelevant, as is the process through which the professional conceives a particular alignment of conditions as "problematic". Similarly the perspectives, intentions, desires, and priorities of the various actors forming the network of any situation, including the professional taking responsibility for it all, are generally rendered irrelevant by the push for productive solution that regulates problem-based practice.

Questioning the pedagogy and procedure of problem-based learning (PBL)

Casey and Howson (1993) describe the goal of problem-centered methods of preparing teachers as developing "creative, independent problem-solvers able to harness their creativity through organization and planning" (p. 361). The instructor presents an "open-ended problem." The pre-service student teachers then "make careful observations, generate predictions based on these observations, test the predictions, and evaluate their predictions in light of the results" (Casey and Howson, 1993, p. 364). In short, student teachers are taught to perceive and respond to the world of teaching in rational, systematic thought processes. The process is well-intentioned and logical.

Several questions should be raised about the construction and use of problem cases for professionals. The first is, *Whose gaze has divined these problems and produced the cases?* Usually currently practicing professionals, often working with representatives of the academy. The problem cases presented to students are presumably selected from those named as most crucial in the judgment of these authorities. In doing so, these authorities control what is to be titled "problematic," what is excluded from the realm of problems and, thus, rendered invisible from view, and what complexities are instrumentally "manageable" and can be eliminated. They have made future practice normative, but the norms they utilize to do so are based on a historical past -- their own experience shaped by actions they generated from formal structures of knowledge, structures usually disseminated from a professional discipline interested in consolidating power in its own expertise. What must be unpacked is the intention and desire of these authorities, whose perception of harm has incited the label of "problem". Perhaps in many professions there may even be found examples of "problems" which in fact represent difference or perceived threat to the very structures that secure the authority of the professionals: "Whose problems are these, out of whose experiences do they arise, and from whose perspective are they salient?" (Scheman, 1993, p.1).

The use of problem cases "pre-shaped" by authoritative sources and dispensed to student professionals points to a second key question: *How do pre-shaped problems help student professionals learn how to frame experience for themselves?* It can be argued that student professionals need to learn how to listen to and sort among the divergent perspectives and conflicting priorities in any complex situation of practice, including their own, and to think and act in ways that allow a flexible view of a situation that will accommodate emerging details. But pre-determined cases conceal the process of their own construction. The problem appears fixed and self-evident, fostering a view of practice in which cookie-cutter problem-frames are retrieved from a vast repertoire and wielded to carve out sites for professional intervention. Rather than learning to generate flexible new ways to discern their practice, student professionals are taught existing perceptual frames that are essentially detached from corporeal experience, idiosyncratic situational detail, and collaborative dialogue. Far from enabling students to develop the ability to question their own participation and perceptual bias in a situation of practice, predetermined problem cases preclude the existence of such dimensions. Focus is immediately thrust into analysis of what is, of what parameters constitute the 'problem', rather than how they got there.

The actual process of constructing cases for use in problem-based curriculum raises a third question: *To what extent can a problem case authentically represent human experience?* Problems chosen for PBL curriculum are constructed through strategies of regimentation and containment. Human experience is rendered fixed and knowable from an Archimedean standpoint. Using such sample problems objectifies situations by power through observation, and inscribes subjects as cases gathered into the authoritative gaze of the student professionals. As Foucault writes, the case "at one and the same time constitutes an object for a branch of knowledge and a hold for a branch of power" (Foucault, 1979, p. 191). Meanwhile, the student professional is taught that problems can be "known" and managed without bodily and intersubjective immersion into them. Thus in working with such bloodless recreations, professionals are taught the process of making problems inert, as well as the moral and epistemological rightness of controlling and stabilizing the meaning of a situation in order to manage it.

Another difficulty with the authenticity of PBL cases is that the problem's context is necessarily relegated to the shadows of background. Often cases may represent bits of human life torn away from context, or contain only a sketchy background of socio-cultural-historical-political details, the flow of power, or the positionalities and network of actors and objects creating and continuing to live out the situation. In isolation, problems appear deceptively antiseptic and "manageable". Friedman (1993) illustrates how a problem case provokes dramatically different interpretations as contextual details of perspectives, history, possible alternative consequences, and different human agendas creating conflict are layered into its presentation.

Even when substantial narrative and contextual detail is provided in the cases comprising PBL, the student professional reading and attempting to "solve" a case is not *the* problem-solver. Instead, the student comes to the problem in the role of a spectator. This discussion leads to a fourth question, namely: *How does the student professional participate in a pre-constructed problem case?* As a kind of voyeur in problem-based learning, the student professional is taught to maintain an epistemological separation from the world. This stance perpetuates a desire to coldly know and control without being known, remote and protected (Parker, 1993). However vicariously or empathetically that student engages with the case, the student will perceive and even shape crucial dimensions of the problem fundamentally differently than the same student would as an actor in the real-life situation who is thrust into the real problem (and living the full reality of the problem's context). Problem-based learning allows consideration of a single experience in a cerebral, rational way, detached from desire. Surely this analysis produces fundamentally different action choices than those generated by an actor's visceral involvement in the immediate experience, which is sensed "through the skin", unfolds simultaneously with multiple other "problems", and is invested with other actors' intersecting intentions and desires. As a spectator of one fragment abstracted from the experience, the student is action-describing; the actor in that experience is action-guiding. Problem-based curriculum works from the presupposition that through participation in intellectual problem-analysis, student professionals may acquire a repertoire of structures to transfer in framing and solving 'problems' of real practice. But to assume that the perspective of a spectator can be transferred later to that of an actor is a basic fallacy (Hinman, 1994).

So a logical fifth question is, then: *To what extent does the learning activity involved in solving a problem case help prepare student professionals for their work in practice?* Fins (1996) claims that applying strategies derived from pre-determined principles is inconsistent with real world practice. Fins shows that in medical practice, clinicians do not fix on a pre-diagnosis and then make the clinical situation fit the parameters of their conclusions, but approach the care of patients inductively. They speculate hypotheses, then adjust their assessment as they observe further the facts which unfold in an emergent dynamic network. The particulars are determinative to the integrity of the process.

Problem-based learning is embedded in what cognitive psychologists term the "disequilibrium" model, which holds that individuals gain understanding through problem-solving, or seeking freedom from difficulty. The limits of this model of learning lie in its orientation to "equilibrium" as an ideal or even a natural state for human beings in relation to their environments. An alternate perspective posed by Prawat (1993) is to view impasses or "dissonance" in experience not as obstacles to be eradicated, but as possibilities for creation. Through this lens, a human being might actively seek to interrupt precisely that status quo of equilibrium, seeking freedom through imaginative possibility. Instead of convergent problem-solving, therefore, the learner is actively engaged in divergent exploration and inquiry, seeking to raise questions, create dissonance, make the familiar strange, and otherwise interrupt the harmonious flow of problem-free existence. Viewed as a process of pursuing "imaginative possibility", learning becomes far more integrative, inclusive, creative, and liberating than problem-based approaches will allow.

Work on situated cognition and enactivism contends that knowing is embodied, and fundamentally rooted in context. Cognition, as embodied action, both poses the "problem" and specifies available paths of action (Varela, Thompson, and Rosch, 1993). Everyday situations confronting practitioners are lived through the skin. Emotions, sensori-motor engagement, personal dispositions, the actor's sense of self, the actor's known repertoire of physical and mental capabilities, the possibilities uncovered by the actor's moment-to-moment actions in that situation -- all the dynamics folding the actor bodily into a lived moment fundamentally shape that actor's perception of and response to a 'problem'. The lived moment is also temporally bound, embracing both the actor's history with situational elements, as well as the actor's anticipation of *future* life with the consequences of any choice made in this moment. Furthermore, the actor invests intentions in a particular situation, including issues of personal need, identity, relationship-building, others' needs, and desired general outcomes. The actor balances these various intentions, many of which may be brought into conflict with a particular choice of action, with the agendas of other actors who help construct this moment. How can any individual who is not embedded in this multitude of dynamics understand or even appreciate the essential intertwining of this context with the perception of the problem and the process taken to choose and act?

In problem-based learning, the actor is removed from this sensing and implication in the dynamic of the situation, and the problem becomes a disembodied rational exercise. Pressure exerted on any one dimension in a "problem-solving" gesture immediately changes the configuration of the system and shifts the apparent point of crisis. Professionals need to learn how to study such multi-layered situations of practice, assess their own situated perspective as actors in these situations, and explore the consequences that unfold in various aspects of the system when different actions are taken. Such study and experimentation in the intricate and fluctuating systems of dynamic human environments in which professionals practice would better prepare professionals than learning how to "solve" single problems or cases isolated from the entire system. How helpful can practice in solving problems or a repertoire of "solutions" be, when in actuality so much professional decision-making is situated in and inseparable from the tools, community and activity (Lave and Wenger, 1993) defining their context of practice? What of those situations in practice of life that cannot ever be "solved" but must be lived through, suffered with, entered and endured? Where is turbulence, continuous change, the dynamic multi-layered flux of real human dynamics in such a worldview? In the emphasis on activism in problem-solving, other kinds of "actions" are rendered less legitimate (i.e. reflection, listening, living beside a situation, not solving it) in problem-based learning. What happens to "waiting," patience, or at least stillness as appropriate responses to an apparent difficulty or dilemma? What of moral dynamics? Is any action toward the solution of a problem a correct action? What is missing from problem-based thinking is recognition of a world and diverse selves that are fluid and dynamic, and knowable only through particular, provisional knowledge that must be allowed to emerge and shift and ultimately accept mystery.

The challenge for professionals and educators of professionals is to resist the culture of control, identifying and 'fixing' the aberrant, which informs the logic of problem-based learning. As argued throughout this paper, current norms of professional practice perpetuate inequity and maintain the cultural superiority of elite professional knowledge. Addelson (1994) suggests that professionals need to be rehabilitated as "sensitized people", not knowledge makers -- an assertion which raises questions of how professionals are sensitized, and what they are sensitized to. Deciding who is in pain and what really needs to be fixed seems increasingly to be a moral and philosophical, as well as an economic and technological activity. It may require listening to surprising new voices, doing nothing instead of something, and willingness to shed 'certainties' about what is abnormal and what is desirable, especially when contemplating others' conditions.

References will be supplied at the presentation of this paper, or on request.

LEARNING THROUGH DISCOURSE

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Discursive learning is holistic, bringing together cognition and emotion as the self is transformed in an emergent, intuitive process. We experience excitement and a sense of renewal in gaining new insight into our experience. Discursive learning is accomplished as we attempt to communicate our deepest thoughts and feelings to others.

L'apprentissage discursif est un acte holistique qui raccorde et transforme les aspects cognitifs et affectifs du soi en un processus émergent ainsi qu'intuitif. La nouvelle compréhension de notre expérience s'accompagne d'une vive émotion et d'un sens de renouvellement. En essayant de communiquer aux autres nos pensées et nos sentiments les plus profonds, nous réalisons l'apprentissage discursif.

Learning through discourse is the kind of learning we do through communicative interaction, in language, gestures and artistic expression. Our main emphasis in this paper will be on language. Language used discursively between persons is instrumental *in the evolution and acquisition of new knowledge.* It can be argued that ". . . language is the medium in which the learning and teaching of all subjects is actually carried out" (Wells (1997). Language is also ". . . the medium of many discursive activities, particularly those we classify as cognitive" (Harré and Gillett, 1994, p.99). For example, when we engage in any conversation, we use inner language to order the information we are taking in and link it to other information we may already have. At the same time, we begin formulating a response in our heads to the words we have just heard. Discourse is always dialogical. Both the voice we are responding to and our own voice adhere to the basic rules of language construction and use, but *meaning*, as Bakhtin said, is 'rented'[1] (Wertsch, 1991, p.68). This may sound like a contradiction -- the fact that we can talk about internalizing 'rented' meanings at the same time as we talk about 'evolution of knowledge' -- but the resolving of this seeming contradiction is one of the accomplishments of Lev Vygotsky. Vygotsky recognized that the sense of a word ". . . is the sum of all the psychological events aroused in our consciousness by the word" (1934/1962, p.146). The dictionary meaning of a word is only one aspect of the *sense* of a word. "A word acquires its sense from the context in which it appears; in different contexts, it changes its sense . . . " (1934/1962, p.146), and, ". . . while in external speech thought is embodied in words, in inner speech words die as they bring forth thought" (1934/1962, p.149).

Our thought is not a direct correspondence to the external speech we take in. Rather, we examine that external speech in terms of the words we have heard and the context we are in. We also examine the reaction of our interlocutor as we attempt to exteriorize in speech for others, our *sense of the way things are* .[2] We do our best to maintain the thread of the conversation, but at the moment of utterance, in the act of cutting a new path from our deepest thoughts and feelings in our speech for others, we can never exactly predict what will come out of our mouths. Necessarily, then, how we communicate is novel and sometimes surprising. There is always an element of excitement in discursiveness because there is always an element of surprise and creativity.

As we attempt to give 'voice' to our deepest thoughts and feelings in the creative, discursive process, our voice is never completely ours. It is also a *ventriloquation* of other voices. In the course of discursive interactions, we internalize external voices and they become part of our inner speech. There are voices from the past or present, reflecting 'shoulds' and 'oughts', or perhaps voices of personal aspiration, or voices imagined in the future. Certainly there are voices which reflect values, social norms and constraints from the common culture. These are part of the cultural inheritance we acquire through discursive practice. Learning through discourse is a process. It is taking in external speech and mulling it over, as well as listening to the many different voices already internalized. It is deciding which of these voices to pay attention to, and distilling them into inner speech by extracting the essence of information which is relevant to us at that time from both the external speech and from our inner speech. Finally, learning through discourse is attempting to exteriorize our intuition or sense of the way things are by 'cutting new paths'[3] from these thoughts (that part which is inexpressible in language) to speech for others (Vygotsky, 1934/1962, p.146).

Because thought, being so much more than mere words, is inherently inexpressible, our speech for others is often inadequate. We can never know another mind (consciousness) directly (Gamlin, 1990); nevertheless, at some point in any conversation the voices converge and at others they diverge so that participants come away with more than what they put in. The whole of the communicative interaction is transformed, and is greater than the sum of the earlier conversational parts. Language as used in discourse penetrates deeply into the organizational structure of the brain, transforming it. Thus, the transition from external speech to internal speech involves transformations in the brain structure which reflect what Bakhtin calls outside interference from other voices (Wertsch, 1991, p.91). "Language, from this perspective, becomes incorporated into cognition and mediates understanding of the world, advancing the development of certain processes that have their origins in particular ways of talking" (Lee, 1997, p.432). This act of internalization reflects a functional dualism of speech (Lotman, in Wertsch, 1991, p.91), inasmuch as speech is used to convey meaning, but it is also used as a 'thinking device' to create new meaning, and this is what happens in the intersection of voices in inner speech. We think about our own thinking, take into consideration the many 'voices' penetrating into our cognitions, and then cut new paths from our thought to speech for others. This is discursive learning. Each time this process repeats itself, discursiveness improves and we take new directions in our thinking and in our feelings about 'the way things are'.

With the mutuality of discourse, there is the potential for surprise. As we have suggested above, participants in discourse can be surprised by an idea, by a novel use of language, by behaviour, by their own thought as they engage in *ventriloquation*. Even in meditation there is the potential for surprise as we move as individuals beyond the mind 'chatter' towards our deepest thoughts and feelings.

To reiterate, a major consequence to being surprised is the affective result. Surprise generates excitement and personal energy, and personal energy is the high-octane fuel which engages the whole person in discursive learning. Participants in discursive learning engage in a kind of mutual inquiry in which they feel enthusiastic, valued and confident. This new confidence acts as an impetus to more inquiry and to further risk-taking in new directions of learning. A natural outcome of this new confidence is increased self-esteem which is an integral component of normal, healthy development and, as such, is a basic need for survival and an essential contributor to the life process (Branden, 1987). Furthermore, participants in discursive learning feel less defensive in expressing their views since they recognize that their co-participants are also trying ideas on for size and practising their own discursive skills.[4]

Discursiveness is about acquiring new knowledge; it's about inquiry with others into the way things are currently; it's about the affective dimensions of surprise and personal energy. Consequently, discursiveness always results in personal growth by virtue of the personal energy we invest in it. In practising discursiveness, we get the sense that the inquiry process is working. In fact, new insight is generated into our sense of the way things are in the moment, and new direction for further inquiry is produced. The process is an on-going one. With new insight, new direction and development of new thought, comes development of the self. If we feel differently about ourselves because we are engaging in new thought, we are treading on a new path in personal development. It is possible, of course, to be on a new path and not change or change very little, in the same way as there are degrees of discursiveness and degrees of discursive learning which involve the whole person or only some degree of the whole person. For example, people who are transferred to a foreign country to work, reject change when their primary objective in the new country is to re-create an exact microcosm of the home environment they left behind. So, although we do not necessarily experience the euphoric 'high' of new insight in ordinary conversation, nevertheless, in every conversation there is the possibility for new learning if we open ourselves to it, and new learning is the catalyst to personal growth.

Well-developed discursiveness is about inquiry, and this inquiry always[5] results in personal growth. Heron (1996, p.1) defines co-operative inquiry as ". . . a vision of persons in reciprocal relation using the full range of their sensibilities to inquire together into any aspect of the human condition with which the transparent body-mind can engage." There is a tension created between the mutual development of participants in inquiry, and personal development of the individual. Mutual development occurs through reciprocal and outward interaction amongst participants, and personal development occurs through individual, personal reflection on the inquiry process and being open to change. By virtue of changing discursive experiences, the self is a "continuous production" (Harré and Gillett, 1994, p.110). In the discursive contexts in which we participate, we appropriate values, norms and constraints of the common culture, and learn new ways of interacting with others, ways which will help us in making ourselves understood and in adapting productively to our environment. No two people appropriate or learn exactly the same things because their individual discursive experiences cannot be replicated. To the extent that we appropriate various cultural norms and constraints, we restrict ourselves to some predetermined ways of seeing things, and to certain ways of thinking about things. Although we have a choice about whether to adopt various cultural norms,[6] depending on our openness to change, their acceptance by us limits, to some degree, the freedom we have to act in any way we might wish. Thus, we have also a creative tension between *conformity* and *freedom*. We initiate our own activity and we do so intentionally on the basis of intuition and for reasons which seem appropriate to us; however, because of the terms of the discourses in which we are engaged, and because we evaluate and self-regulate our own activity, that activity is subject to certain constraints (Harré and Gillett, 1994, pp.117-118).

The natural proclivity of human beings is to search after meaning. In our efforts to 'understand', we are to a certain extent forced into being creative through our attempts at cutting new paths from inner thought to speech for others. Thus, an individual's identity undergoes continuous transformation through participation in particular instances of social activities with others (Wells, 1997). As a result, there exists another dynamic tension where ". . . the individual is a participant and negotiator in the interpersonal domain of meanings . . ." (Harré and Gillett, 1994, p. 137), but this tension always favours moving forward in anticipation of future events, and letting go of prediction and control. We want to be consistent and make sense of our lives, but we also want novelty and creativity.

As our sense of the way things are in the moment changes, we change as people, but the kind and degree of change is dependent on our discursive skills and on the degree to which we open ourselves to change. Human beings are not passive by nature, but rather, dynamic and social. In our search for understanding and meaning, we act and interact, and we do so *intentionally* with other people and with our surroundings. Vygotsky is clear about intentionality in our use of language when he says that ". . . the primary function of speech, both for the adult and for the child, is the function of communication, social contact, influencing surrounding individuals" (1934, p.45, in Wertsch, 1991, p.34). In human activity, language assumes primary importance because it is typically language which mediates this activity and which shapes both intentional action and the individual in essential ways (Wertsch, p.12). Through our communicative interactions with others, we begin to recognize that we are the agents of our own actions, and are responsible to others for them (Wertsch, p.11), that is, we become intentional. In discourse, given what a participant has said, and given the relevancy we construe from these words and our intuition, each of us has a responsibility to participate in that discourse and portray our sense of the way things currently are to the best of our ability. Aboriginal people refer to this as *speaking from the heart*, that is, speaking to the Creator at the same time as we speak to the people engaged in our mutual discourse. Both the speaker and listener feel the sincerity, empathy, respect and connection inherent in words spoken from the heart, and these qualities release personal energy.

Sometimes we get disconnected from our personal energy because we become routinized in our behaviour for various reasons. One way to re-connect and, thus, renew our personal energy is through our personal images[7] (Hunt, 1992, p.3). Personal images are " . . . inner representations of our experience through our imagination" (p.37). They are the internal equivalents to metaphor, our personal metaphors or symbolic representations of our experience. According to Hunt, the essential for connecting with personal energy is to experience a personal image, to enter into the image, and then to share it with another person. Hunt calls the special transaction in mutual sharing of personal images, "sharing as co-creation" (p.59). Hunt outlines five characteristics necessary for this process to occur: good will, respect, non-judgmental orientation, openness to feelings, and trust. He suggests that these characteristics are those which may define *active listening*[8] . If you engage in active listening, you maximize your chances of releasing personal energy.

Hunt's theory and practice is of interest to educators because it implies the concept of modifiability, both cognitive modifiability as well as in aspects of motivation and feelings of competency (personal energy). One of Hunt's profound beliefs is that each of us has a great capacity for learning and creativity, and nobody knows what we will be except ourselves. Some of what we choose to develop is subject to our motivation and feelings of competency. "The aspects of motivation and feelings of competency are particularly important targets for change, since they represent the energetic sources of behaviour that, more than anything else, are responsible for the extent to which the individual will use the newly acquired. . ." (Feuerstein, Rand, Jensen, Kaniel and Tzuriel, 1987, p.47). In discursive learning our sense of the way things are, our intuition, constantly changes through the exteriorization of inner speech. Motivation and feelings of competency are forces behind the drive to exteriorize. They are affective components which provide us with the feeling that our thoughts and feelings should be heard; they are what move us forward in expanding our understanding.

As we reach higher understanding and greater consciousness, we represent our experiences symbolically in metaphor, and we are more able to integrate a diversity of comment in our mutual inquiry with others. For example, if someone is being impatient with you, your natural tendency may be to respond with impatience. By accessing a personal image which reflects the quality of patience for you, it becomes possible to find the patience necessary for a different response. Therefore, as personal images are accessed, reflective mental activity (thinking about our own thinking) is amplified. In the course of accessing personal images, we are engaging in the practice of similarity or metaphorical thinking, a cognitive activity which allows the individual to look beyond the surface features of dissimilar ideas or things to find similarities between the two at an underlying level. As we have suggested above, this kind of thinking is necessary in order to reach higher ground in our consciousness (Khani and Gamlin, 1996, p.129). Accessing personal images helps us connect with our personal energy (Hunt, 1992), and metaphorical thinking, particularly when shared in mutual inquiry, has the most potential for radical changes[9] in the way we think about things (Gamlin, 1996).

This potential for transformation of thought structure has clear implications for learning and improvement of learning competencies, as does the potential for change in motivation and feelings of competency. Since virtually everyone, regardless of individual differences, is capable of connecting with their personal images to some degree, cognitive modifiability and affective modifiability are possible in a wide variety of classroom and educational settings. Proponents of discursive learning would say that by taking our own interior language (here, the language in which we express our personal images and our associations around them) and reconstructing it as speech for others (sharing as co-creation), we are first trying to make sense with and for others so that we can then make sense for ourselves (Wells, 1997). Making sense for others, as in the writing of this paper, makes sense for ourselves.[10] Revising this paper has resulted in the experiencing of the co-creative emotional and cognitive outcomes we describe. We are much more connected to our deepest thoughts and feelings in the current version of this paper, but we realize that this process continues, and that different and certainly 'fresh' ways of representing our insights into discursive learning will emerge.

Let's look at an example of making sense for others from an adult ESL class. In this example, we can see how the emotional energy and cognitive gains of the learner are linked. Students are introduced to several characters through short, weekly, dictated dialogues. After correcting their underlined orthographic errors following the dictation, students engage in a class discussion to determine the affective states and intentions of the characters in the dialogue. Following the discussion, students practise in pairs speaking the different parts of the dialogue, trying to reflect the affective state and the projected intention of each character in their portrayal. Then students act out the dialogue with a partner for appreciative classmates. Finally, students in groups of four or five co-operate in writing a sequel to the dialogue. In this group work, students use their own interior language to try to express the images and associations they have built up around the dialogue characters. They reconstruct their inner speech as speech for others, and then co-operate to create new dialogue for these characters. The teacher moves from group to group assisting with vocabulary, spelling and idioms in an effort to express as nearly as possible the gist of what each group wishes to portray about the characters in the new dialogue they are creating together. A version of the new dialogue is the content for the next weekly dictation, and the cycle begins again. In this activity, motivation is high as students use their own ideas and words to co-create. They express a good deal of enthusiasm at various stages in the process, often collapsing with laughter at their mutually clever contributions to the new dialogue, or their mutually entertaining 'stage performances'.[11] In this example, Hunt's (1992) discursive process (sharing as co-creation) changes motivation and the structure and content of thought as students learn how to access the multivoicedness of discursiveness in another language.

We see from the above example that discursiveness can be understood in large measure as a process of co-creation where intuitive processes are at work in the evolution of new knowledge and personal growth.

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ENDNOTES

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[1] There are many issues here. Essentially, meaning is borrowed from someone else and we use it for a while, but in the course of using it, we add to it. Similarly, we use a thesaurus to find a word which gets closer to the meaning we are trying to express.

[2] We mean *'the way things are for each one of us in a particular context at a particular time'*.

[3] As the discursive context changes, our *sense of the way things are* necessarily changes. We must try to find a way of expressing this new sense in other words.

[4] We are fully aware that in the 'real' world this is not what always happens. Defensiveness is a natural response, but in the 'whole' person defensiveness is reduced.

[5] There is always the possibility that someone's understanding of an issue is different from yours, but the fact that this person is cutting into the issue in a new way, has to enlarge your understanding. It has to touch who you are and provoke an affective as well as a cognitive expansion in you. With cognitive expansion there is a kind of acceptance that your understanding is limited. A person who is whole is necessarily accepting of different understandings. Although the prevailing view is that you can learn something new independent of your affective state, our view is that every time you learn something new, you change as a person. This goes back to the notion of 'expanding awareness': the more you are influenced by what someone says, the more you expand your awareness, and this helps you to change in your relationship to what you have known, that is, you find out more about yourself. "I thought I was an expert, but now I realize I'm a novice, but I also realize I can become more expert."

[6] Because as individuals we constantly search for meaning, we are drawn into expanding our understanding. To some extent we are intentional and to some extent we are captive to the process.

[7] 'Whales on pogo sticks' is one person's personal image related to humour. Simply recalling this image and 'becoming' the image, releases personal energy for that person. To another person the image may seem bizarre. Whenever anyone questions one's personal experience, insights, feelings, intuitions, or images, one tends to feel violated. With the words, "I don't understand what you are talking about, but I would like to understand", that is where learning begins. Thus, we have an argument for experientially-based knowledge as being the only kind that counts.

[8] As we become better listeners, we are modified cognitively because we are letting more in.

[9] With radical restructuring of thought, we also change as people.

[10] A lot of our metacognitive activity is caught up in making sense for others. As a consequence we move further in Vygotsky's "Zone of Proximal Development" by making expanding sense for ourselves.

[11] Students are energized and moving further in the "Zone" in terms of their mutually supportive activities. All images are metaphorical because they are symbolic representations, and personal energy is accessed through metaphor.

PEDAGOGICAL STRATEGIES TO ENCOURAGE STUDENT INTERACTION IN THE OPEN LEARNING CLASSROOM

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This paper examines pedagogical strategies to improve the quality of teaching while retaining a critical and feminist focus within an open learning environment.

Cette papier examine des strategies pedagogique pour ameliore le qualite de enseignement pendant que conserver un centre de critique et feminine en une environnement de ouvert savoir.

As we head into the 21st century, the use of technology will become more prevalent in adult education. Open learning programs use various combinations of audio, audio-visual, and computer technologies, in addition to packaged print materials to reach distance students. Faculty need to develop innovative pedagogical practices to overcome the barriers of teaching at a distance, and to foster democratic learning possibilities. While the open learning format poses a number of challenges to adult educators, it can also provide quality learning opportunities for students, particularly those who would not otherwise have access to adult education programs because of their home/work situations. Although distance education programs may garner support primarily because of the dominant market orientation in lifelong learning, I draw upon critical and feminist theoretical perspectives to argue that adult educators must not lose sight of the potential of for open learning to create democratic learning opportunities.

Open Learning

Open learning originated in concept from the open university system in Britain, and has expanded to other countries under different guises. The underlying philosophy of open learning is to extend learning opportunities to a broader range of people, thereby providing access to those whose life circumstances would hinder participation in traditional types of on-site educational programs. In open learning students receive a packages of print material to work through independently. Most programs include extra forms of support, which are often determined by financial factors, as cost ranges from moderate expenditures, such as teleconferencing and computer aids, to the extremely expensive forum of interactive audio-visual. Students may also have access to tutors or instructors through email or telephone (Rowntree, 1992). The initial capital costs for open learning technology may seem high, but so is the extensive infrastructure required in a traditional university such as classroom space, parking lots, and libraries. By using open learning, universities may attract non-traditional students as well as businesses that are interested in continuing training for their employees (Minoli, 1996)

Globalization

The underlying philosophy of open learning allows for the possibility of cooperation rather than competition between nations. Through distance education, knowledge could be easily disseminated and shared. Using economical technological developments would be one way to close the knowledge gap between the North and South to foster development (Rossman, 1992). Unfortunately, this humanistic orientation has often been overshadowed by the dominant discourse in lifelong learning which is oriented towards the marketplace. This can be seen in the workplace analogies which permeate the literature, defining students as "clients" while educational institutions are urged to work towards "customer satisfaction" (Kershaw & Safford, 1998). Universities are urged to offer greater flexibility - an important characteristic of open learning programs. Education is perceived as a valuable export, and connections between the workplace and universities are forged to provide continuing vocational training and research opportunities. Open learning is one of the ways in which training can be effectively disseminated to increase the skill level and capacity of workers to compete within a globalized marketplace (Longworth & Davies, 1996).

The increasing trend towards globalization suggests that marketing education world-wide will become a profitable venture. As government support shrinks, universities are increasingly seeking alternative means to make their "enterprise" more profitable (Henkel, 1997). Linkages between industry and universities are advocated as a symbiotic type of relationship, in which industry will be able to access education and research opportunities more cheaply than if these had to be developed in house (Longworth & Davies, 1996), and universities will find a new clientele to replace its dwindling traditional student base of recent high school graduates (Minoli, 1996).

These incentives suggest that open learning will become a predominant form of education. Kershaw and Safford argue that "by the turn of the century the full impact of educational telecommunications will be upon us" (1998: 285). Universities which remain steadfast in their traditional approaches to education will lose out in the increasingly competitive global marketplace, as more adaptative institutions provide an increasingly wide range of specialized and flexible educational programs.

Critical and Feminist Perspectives

Allowing a narrow, market-oriented philosophy of education to predominate within the open-learning environment threatens to undermine its democratic potential. Education that is designed to satisfy consumer "needs" rather than challenge students to critically reflect upon their learning experiences can easily become constructed as ongoing skills training. Collins (1991) warns against the "cult of efficiency" whereby adult educators become focused on a narrow mandate where learning is equated with developing vocational skills. As educators we need to sustain a critical focus, that will enable us to allow our students to engage with difficult issues from various standpoints. Barrett (1996) argues that "customers" do not approach education with the same focus or commitment as students do, nor do they have the same sense of responsibility or accountability.

One effect of globalization is that a schism is developing between the core and peripheral workforce. The core workforce "is narrowing but requires a wider range of skills" and has better educational opportunities than those who are frequently unemployed or underemployed (Forrester, Payne & Ward, 1995). The increase of part-time work and contract employment has led to expanding numbers of employees on the periphery who, unlike unionized or core employees, have little access to job training. As Hart (1995) also notes, women and minorities are more likely to be represented in the latter category. The emphasis on the marketplace creates a narrow focus on production for profit rather than production for life, thus jeopardizes the potential for education to have a democratic or ameliorative influence.

Pedagogical Strategies

Despite these very serious concerns, open learning does have the potential to provide innovative educational opportunities which benefit many people. Through the various forms of technology which are being used and developed, educators can link up with other academics from around the world. As Rossman notes, "Scholars have always built upon the work of countless others who have gone before them", but modern technology now enables us to have immediate contact with others (1992: 59). For the first time, academics have the opportunity to engage in a truly global form of scholarship. Robinson argues that we need to use open learning opportunities to "carry forward the messages of sustainable community development" (1991: 21).

By using a critical and feminist focus, adult educators can develop pedagogical techniques within open learning to challenge students to reflect upon what they are learning, examine the power relations that exist in our globalized society, and discuss alternative viewpoints. The traditional lecture format has been shown to be an ineffective means of teaching within a distance learning format. Instead, faculty should develop an interactive pedagogical style, where students are given frequent feedback and opportunities to speak (Thach & Murphy, 1995; Lanchance Wolcott, 1994).

Welton (1995) and Collins (1991) have drawn upon Habermas's notion of communicative action to support a critical teaching perspective, that encourages a respectful exchange of ideas and experience. Fostering communicative action in an open learning environment is challenging because discourse must be mediated through technological means. This can create barriers which educators must work to overcome. In audio-conferencing, the lack of non-verbal cue makes it difficult to engage students (Lachance Wolcott, 1994). In audio-visual conferencing, the use of different cameras and camera angles has been shown to make a significant difference in students' perceptions of the teacher and their willingness to participate (Gopalakrishnan, Morrison & Ross, 1997). Faculty must learn to use technology effectively, often overcoming their own inhibitions before being able to assist students to deal with their own (Thach & Murphy, 1995).

It is important to foster interpersonal relationships with students in the open learning classroom. Learning and using the students' names, having students spend some time introducing themselves in the first class, and responding promptly to questions via phone or email, are simple but important indicators of respect that help to establish a positive learning environment (Lachance Wolcott, 1994). Students are interested in learning about the diverse backgrounds of others who are in their program, and educators can foster a cooperative forum whereby students can ask one another for assistance on various research, work, or practicum projects.

Within the open learning class I believe it is important to discuss the politics of representation with students, to work towards an understanding of the underlying, democratic potential for this type of education. On-site students are sometimes resentful about having to "open" their classroom to off-site students, while off-site students sometimes feel left out and marginalized in discussions. These issues need to be addressed so that students can become more empathetic and contribute to generating ideas about how these barriers may be overcome.

In our program we use a list-server, where students may engage in ongoing conversations about ideas generated from the readings and in the classroom. The overall quality of this discussion is an impressive example of how technology can facilitate discourse from a wide range of people located in very different circumstances. Opportunities for groupwork are enthusiastically received by students in open learning. In our program we have interactive audio. During groupwork sessions I turn down the audio sound in the classroom so that the off-site people form one group, while the on-site people form another group. People on-site enjoy the opportunity to communicate face-to-face, while off-site people participate more freely in their own "space".

Connections to Community and Homeplace

Faculty should also be attentive to how the lives of students in open learning are often affected by their connections with the homeplace and community (Gouthro, 1997). As Hotchkis and Driedger (1991) note, distance education tends to focus primarily on individual attributes and concerns, neglecting the role of families and communities. Miles (1989) suggests that distance learning may provide opportunities and accessibility to women which traditional schooling lacks, as it more flexible and can be worked around the other responsibilities and conflicts which may affect women's lives. At the same time, educators should be aware of how education can change the lives of women learners. The decision to return to school may have positive results in fostering greater confidence and assertiveness in women learners, but it can also lead to stress as women struggle to juggle multiple responsibilities (Gouthro, 1997). Students cannot be separated from their social context, and student success is linked to "the support of kinship and community networks" (Hotchkis & Driedger, 1991: 40). It is important to draw connections between learning in the classroom to the homeplace and community.

Conclusion

Despite the challenges I have discussed, I argue that by drawing upon critical and feminist perspectives, it is possible to develop pedagogical approaches that can foster a framework for communicative understanding between educators and their students within the open learning classroom.

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Doing history not Doing History: Making Sense of Modern Practice as a Cultural Practice

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Abstract: In this paper I examine the critical postmodern meaning and value of "doing history." I use this theoretical perspective to explore the thesis that the modern practice of adult education has emerged as a culture of knowledge growing more distant from a culture of community.

Introduction: I begin this paper with a reflection on the meaning and value of history to adult education as an enterprise that tends to forget history in its obsession with the present and the future. I speak to the value of taking the enterprise's past into the present moment as a means of gathering ideas and insights to inform the contemporary field. Next, I explore the idea of historiography as a critical postmodern way of knowing and understanding that can be used to investigate the role and purpose of adult education. This exploration includes the caution that critical postmodern historiography should not fall prey to the particular in its concern for it. I conclude that history should be written working with a dialectic of the universal-particular in order to reveal a real and usable past. I draw on the theorizing of historian E. H. Carr (1961) to indicate how we might go about engaging this dialectic in order to write particular accounts that contribute to a bigger story. Referencing Raymond Williams's dichotomous view of culture as knowledge and as community, I then examine modern practice as a cultural practice with the intention of beginning a story and interpretation that contribute to the written history of the field.

The Value of History to Adult Education: In 1964, James B. Whipple specifically characterized the post-World War II historian of adult education as a researcher who engaged in a conscious process of systematically revealing the past. He suggested that historical research served the emerging adult education enterprise in at least three useful ways. First, it provided knowledge of an emerging enterprise that contributed to the adult learner's understanding of adult education as a complex field. Second, it expanded the knowledge base of adult education as a "disciplined" enterprise. Third, it provided a method of organizing the past that assisted adult educators to execute responsibly their functions in the present. His effort to present adult education historians as scientized, systematic researchers and his declaration of the importance and value of history were responses offered, in part, to contest the traditionally low status of history in adult education. Whipple concluded that adult educators, for the most part, did not appear to see the usefulness of history to the development of the field. He noted the absence of history in supposedly inclusive works such as Edmund deS. Brunner's (1959) *Overview of Adult Education Research.* He said that this absence provided an example of a field thinking only in "present" terms and turning (when it turned at all) to disciplines other than history to pose its problematics and answer its questions.

Carlson (1980) points to the tendency of adult education research to focus on the present and the future. Speaking to the marginalization of history in the modern enterprise, he speculates that the past appears "irrelevant or, at times, even subversive" (p. 41) because it may deeply question what is of value in contemporary practice. Nevertheless, there have been voices calling for a turn to history. Rockhill (1976) argues that history can "expand our vision of the possible and help us to see more clearly the limitations of the present reality" (p. 206). She captures part of its problem when she describes the history of adult education as "a history that had to wait" (p. 199) because it is secondary to the formal schooling of children in the scheme of education. She captures another part when she gives this sense of the difficult task of the adult education historian writing a history of a field with unfixed borders: "We know little about how adult education functions as a reality in the lives of people. ... Adult education is not synonymous with an institution or set of institutions, nor is it coterminous with a level or fourth tier of learning. Thus, its conceptualization and history are necessarily complex and difficult to integrate" (p. 197). Welton (1987) values the history of adult education as a foundational knowledge base that provides depth to contemporary field discourse. He purports that the past is usable in at least three ways: First, it aids critical thinking and action by providing a lens to view the present and its difference from the past. Second, it gives advice to groups shaped by relations of power and caught up in the rigors of identity-difference politics and social action. Third, it becomes a way to theorize education and community connections, a use that should drive us to consider how explanations are constructed from evidence.

The diffuse and problematic nature of adult education's identity and difference, plus other problems of doing adult education history, should not be used as excuses to avoid a turn to this foundation discipline. The value in taking the past into the enterprise's present moment lies in history's contribution of knowledge that enables us to think about what makes contemporary life, learning, and work different. With respect to learning, Freire (1993) bestows value on history as a way of knowing education. He turns to history to understand education as a situated venture and to frame education as possibility. He states: "I think it is essential that, in understanding history as possibility, teachers also discover education as possibility, in the sense that education is profoundly historical. When we understand education as possibility, we come to realize that education has limits. It is exactly because it is limitable and limited, ideologically, economically, socially, politically, and culturally, that education gains efficacy" (p. 85). From this perspective, historical research reveals how education itself is shaped and is most productive in the intersection of the personal, political, and pedagogical. It shows educators that what goes on inside education is inextricably linked to the contexts shaping communities and the larger world.

"Doing history" Not "Doing History:" History is exploring the past to make connections between past and present, to understand the present as different, and to envision what might be possible in the future. How do we "do history?" Perhaps answering this question is like painting a detailed "big picture." The details are the dispositional, contextual, and relational considerations crucial to deep analysis of the object of study. In this sense, historiography is understood as writing a history of people, politics, and ideas in the intersection of the descriptive, analytical, and interpretive. Taking adult education as the object of study, writing a history of its formation is, in a real sense, then, painting a big picture of field emergence. Shaped as a critical postmodern way of knowing and understanding, this history is written wary of the pitfalls of viewing history from a present lens and writing History as though the story told is *the* definitive and essential rendering of the past. Theorized this way, written history becomes a vehicle to understand parameters, shake foundations, negotiate terrains, and reconfigure boundaries. However, the historian must be cautious. Historiography should be about breaking new ground without falling prey to the particularity of a subjective account that might result in an inaccurate rendering of the past. Thus, from a critical postmodern perspective, history should be written working with a dialectic of the universal-particular in order to reveal a real and usable past. The particularity of a written history ought to contribute to a bigger story that gives substance and meaning to the past.

E. H. Carr (1961) helps us to work using a dialectic of the universal-particular. He believes that historians are people with particular dispositions who write particular histories. However, since he also believes that history has to be usable in some broader sense, he suggests that good historians are those who research themselves as well as their facts. They question the fullness of the knowledge indicated by the facts they record. They see texts as penetrable, alterable, and perhaps drenched with subtexts for the interpreter of the written account. They do "history" instead of doing "History" because they deeply question notions like objective historical truth and decisive history. Carr reminds us that "the facts of history never come to us 'pure.' ... They are always refracted through the mind of the recorder" (p. 24). This raises many issues for writers of history concerned with the big picture. These issues pose further methodological questions that are formulated here with respect to the history of adult education. Carr's list of issues that affect how we "do history" includes: 1) interpretation (How are adult education historians sifting through the facts? How do they see the past resonating in the present moment?), 2) selectivity (How does the "the processing process" (p. 16) set the parameters of adult education histories? If, for example, we view the history of adult education as a mansion with logistics and circumstance dictating historian access to only so many rooms, then how does this affect "doing history?" How is the processing process affected by what historians variously take up or resist?), 3) personal locatedness (How are adult education historians with their particular ideologies, knowledges, understandings, and dispositions personally caught up in the construction of enterprise history and the determination of the significance of the past? How do the contexts and relations of power shaping historians as multiple subjects impact how their accounts are textured?), 4) the philosophy of history (What general principles guide historiography in adult education? To what extent is history valued in the enterprise?), 5) presentism (How does the living present shape histories of adult education? How does it affect what historians see or are blind to in the past? How do historians take up the language and meaning of words and phrases used in the past?), and 6) the object of study (What is adult education? How might we know and understand it as an object of study? How complex is its identity and difference? Is it constituted in insulated and isolated multiple forms? Or is there some umbrella that allows a more inclusive recognition of an enterprise identified as adult education?). Carr's ideas inform the difficult task of historiography. In writing histories of adult education the challenge is to make sense of the field as an object of study that is generally difficult to specify in terms of its definition and parameters.

Modern Practice as a Cultural Practice – Culture as Community versus Culture as Knowledge: Exploring the terrain of a relatively new field whose modern practice only dates from 1919 (Cotton, 1968; Knowles & Klevins, 1972), we can see that there has been an ongoing struggle to answer the question "What is adult education?"

Within the context of this struggle, doing the history of adult education is not a neat process. Nevertheless, it is a revealing one. In the story I tell here, I would like to reflect on the struggle to identify adult education as a quest to understand the field in terms of the degree to which it is a lived and knowable community. For Raymond Williams, to live and know community involved gauging, and hopefully reducing, the distance between culture as knowledge (where, after World War II, valued knowledge is increasingly cast as techno-scientific knowledge) and culture as community (where knowledge, less valued in the dominant culture, is associated with work, popular culture, class, and community relationships) (Grossberg, 1997). Reflecting on this dichotomous view of culture, one can ask certain questions about adult education and its identity quest. First, how has modern practice been reconfigured during adult education's struggle to achieve space (a recognized and useful presence) and place (a respected and valued position) in the dominant culture? Second, what knowledge has been valued by modern practice as an emerging cultural practice? Third, what distance has existed between culture as knowledge and culture as community in this cultural practice?

Answers to these questions can be framed using Webster E. Cotton's (1968) periodization model dividing North American modern practice into three periods. In this model, the first period of the era of modern practice is dated from 1919. In that year the Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction released a report promoting adult education as "a permanent national necessity, [and] an inseparable aspect of citizenship" (Knowles and Klevins, 1972, p. 7). Even though the seeds of specialism were sown during this time, modern practice appeared to emerge as a cultural practice focused more on culture as community and the knowledge that people needed to survive and live secure lives in a democratic society. In a world fearing socialism and recovering from World War I, modern practice emphasized nation building translated as the promotion of democratic citizenship. This era, ending in 1929, is marked by a "vision of adult education as 'the way out' from sordid materialism, economic deprivation, and ineffectual democracy" (Cotton, 1968, p. 2). Within this vision, progress appeared to be understood as human and community progress abetting democracy. This contributed to the kind of adult education that J. Roby Kidd (1950) characterized as "variegated ..., [a form] where no one wants to see the development of any code or creed" (p. 24). Not yet blinded by techno-scientism, educators, learners, and their communities needed adult education to be many things as social misery took many forms in its assault on citizens.

Cotton's second period is dated from 1930 to 1946. It includes the years of the Great Depression and World War II. With social misery taking even more virulent forms, period two was a time when US adult educators perhaps realized their own humanity and sought to modify the ideals of the earlier period to ones "which could be judged more realistic" (Knowles and Klevins, 1972, p. 7). In the United States, this period was marked by a growing professionalization of the mainstream field. This growth was accompanied by a corresponding de-emphasis on adult education as social education. Social education was increasingly viewed as a millstone to field advancement that could mire adult education in the politics of special group and community interests. In Canada, by contrast, the trickle-down effects of the US field's move toward professionalization would not be felt significantly until after World War II. Social education remained alive in adult education projects including the Antigonish Movement (that officially began in 1928), and the National Farm Radio Forum (that began in 1941) (Selman & Associates, 1998). Culture as community was still a key field focus in Canada, while a growing professionalism in the United States favored culture as knowledge as professionalization came to mean techno-scientization. The distance between culture as community and culture as knowledge was increasing.

The third period in the era of modern practice began in 1947. In that year the Truman Commission on Higher Education issued its report, which included a role for adult education in the postwar social readjustment process (Grattan 1955/1971). Postindustrial society was emerging at this time and Eisenhower's military-industrial complex was its pervasive architecture. "*Theoretical* [his italics] knowledge ... [became] the matrix of innovation" (Bell, 1967, p. 157). Modern practice as the culture of knowledge was ascendant in this milieu. There were continuing tendencies toward institutionalization and professionalization in US mainstream practice. Canada followed suit in this period. Adult educators began to appropriate the US model to shape Canadian adult education within a culture as knowledge in order to advance and culturally enhance the Canadian field. This focus on culture as knowledge provided support for Wilbur C. Hallenbeck's (1960) argument that "a culture always determines the form, the content, and the scope of its organized education" (p. 29). Since techno-scientific knowledge was a highly valuable currency in postindustrial society, and since it was a mainstream field desire (if not obsession) to gain dominant cultural space and place, techno-scientization became the way to reshape modern practice within a culture of knowledge. Cultural practice based on culture as community was concomitantly devalued in mainstream learning circles. For citizen learners, this unfortunately reduced adult education to techno-scientized versions of what you did to catch up or what you did to keep up (Blakely and Lappin, 1969). In the third period, the modern practice of adult education continued to emerge as a culture of knowledge growing more distant from a culture of community.

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HOME THOUGHTS ON GLOBALIZATION: WAGGING THE DOG

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Progressive adult education lacks a framework for globalization that addresses the central role of communication and information technologies in modernity. A cultural model of communication offers a conception of globalization congruent with adult education's transformative project. Development of this perspective offers Canadian adult education scholars an opportunity for intellectual leadership.

Socially progressive adult education has not yet formulated a robust conceptual framework for globalization. Yet critical adult educators are deeply concerned for the fragility of the lifeworld during late modernity/postmodernity (Welton, 1995), a lifeworld deeply impacted by globalization.

Fortunately, the constituent core of adult education as *vocation* (Collins, 1991) has enough muscle to generate both a research program on globalization and guidelines for practice. The essence of education for empowerment is: (a) clear ideological and metaphysical commitment to those sectors of the population experiencing inequity and injustice; (b) an articulation of adult education within a social theory of learning; and (c) conviction that a broadly conceived democracy is the best environment for learning and for development. Together, these fundamentals provide the optics for a contemporary framework on globalization.

Missing in action: a definition of globalization

For progressive adult educators not disposed to regard globalization as a normative ideal, a formulation of globalization as an analytic category is necessary. But the intellectual slogging on that task is only just beginning, requires interdisciplinary collaboration, and generally has not engaged adult educators. In the interim, a working definition is needed and Giddens' casting of globalization as a "consequence of modernity" (1990) has a great deal to recommend it. But any commanding theoretical conception of globalization must encompass the sobering assessment of the World Summit for Development – that despite impressive economic growth and numerable advances in science and technology, all societies throughout the world have faltered on the social front.

The most defining feature of globalization is diminishment of space and time dimensions of physical geography; thereby permitting, encouraging, and sometimes requiring new kinds of human interaction. Geographic boundaries no longer sharply define, demark and contain; borders are infinitely more porous; place or location matters differently in people's relations to each other. Similarly, that other absolute - time (and speed) - has proved quite pervious to human ingenuity. The accompanying societal transitions within globalization challenge previous understandings of human interrelatedness as well as patterns of dependence, independence and interdependence across families, communities, and societies. Consequently, global de/centering requires social science to re-define previously functional analytical categories, including several indispensable to critical adult education - *community, identity, belonging, neighbour, local,* public, and *culture*. With direct impact on adult education concern for the lifeworld, re-conceptualization of these social categories could challenge us as passionate educators, scholars, theoreticians, and intellectuals.

An initial step in theorizing globalization *for* adult education and *from within* adult education is identifying filaments in the web of significance around globalization before they fuse and become conceptually impenetrable. Already second nature to progressive adult education, a critical perspective with its focus on construction/deconstruction of social and power relationships is the place to begin. Accordingly, globalization can be interrogated by attention to each of its economic, social, political and cultural dimensions. The second step is an examination of the relationship of the parts to each other and the construction of links among the parts and the whole. This paper begins the first step, another paper in progress the second.

Economic dimensions of globalization

The centrifugal force of globalization is economic, a force sufficiently powerful that other dimensions of globalization are subsidiary. Globalization is a product of late industrial capitalism, a market economy, and the interests of transnational corporations (TNCs) in profits and capital accumulation. While economic globalization is inescapable, it is certainly not accidental, nor is it a kind of postmodern Immaculate Conception.

Production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services are increasingly global. In the global village however, scant attention is accorded to Adam Smith's prerequisites for market efficiency: (a) the enlightened self interest of people living where their capital is at work and where their businesses are conducted; (b) a competitive marketplace where neither buyers nor sellers are big enough to control prices and where monopolies, oligarchies, and cartels are not permitted; and (c) that prices charged by the producer to the buyer reflect the full cost of production (*cost internalization* in economic terms). Violation of the last is evident in various kinds of cultural and environmental degradation wrought by businesses without roots in the local place. The global economy obviously transgresses all three basics.

Previously, governments of nation-states were able to enact domestic legislation and policies to ameliorate the negative impact of market-based fiscal and economic activities within their nations. Now under the pressure of economic globalization, nation-states are engaged in a flurry of de-regulation and re-regulation. Not coincidentally, global free trade economic agreements - such as NAFTA, GATT, MAI, and that of the WTO - have been aggressively sought and vociferously advocated by corporate and financial sectors who stand to gain enormously in the new "open" economy and through "free" trade at the expense of public interest legislation. Critical analysis of the economic dimensions of globalization is already available from economists (Korton, 1995) who do not confuse their scholarship with advocacy for the corporate sector.

Cultural dimensions of globalization.

Although the cultural dimensions of globalization are more intricate than the economic dimensions of globalization, certain elements are crystal clear. Cultural globalization is inextricably interwoven with communication and information technology, particularly the convergence of telecommunication with computers, and the centrality of communication and communication technologies (CITs) to the global economy. Unpacking this puzzle requires that adult educators address the *phenomenon* of new communication and information regimes before technology applications *per se*.

Distinguishing between a transportation model of communication and a cultural model of communication is essential (Carey, 1992). The transportation model of communication focuses on new capacities and possibilities for collecting, retrieving, processing and distributing informational products, celebrates advances in micro-electronics and is transfixed with the *frisson* of novel communication experiences. A cultural model of communication asserts that much more is at stake than message or content, holding communication to be a process by which culture is formed and transformed, and through which domination or resistance can be experienced. Neither techno-phobic nor techno-utopian, the cultural model of communication has philosophical and intellectual congruency with conceptualizations of adult education as social action and as cultural work. Nonetheless, with a few exceptions (Harris, 1997a; Harris, 1997b; Dyson, 1998), adult education has attended to communication as transportation and all but ignored communication as culture.

Of course some sectors of formal adult education, notably continuing professional education, have enthusiastically embraced communication and information technologies. Invariably their ardor is for technologies within a transportation paradigm, specifically to deliver education from central points (usually universities or other educational institutions) to distance ones (usually remote, removed or rural individuals). The morphing of *distance education* into *distributed learning* does not change the transportation paradigm.

Today, formulations of adult education without due regard for a technology within a cultural paradigm of communication is untenable. Now socialization is increasing intertwined with communication and information technology. Now the stories of parents, school, churches and family are likely to be eclipsed by stories manufactured and distributed by transnational corporate concerns. Symbolic environments overshadow unmediated information and unmediated relationships. Markers from the dominant cultural frame of television and film are routinely used to convey intense, powerful, personal experiences. Entertainment products are packaged by the communication and information sector for a global market place. The mediums of film and television, most powerfully the latter, reproduce sexism, racism, and violence in its programs, replicating and reinforcing the structures of power in the external world. Values of developed nations, morés of the "overclass", and consumerism masquerading as freedom are routinely packaged, promoted, and sold together with media products.

Communication and information technology, particularly for entertainment, is now the fastest growing area of the global economy. In hypermodernity, technology itself is consumed. Countries, governments, universities and organizations are as prone to the uptake of expensive technologies for a vaguely defined competitive edge as are individuals. In the sphere of education, the emergence of communication and information as market-place products is evident in the commodification of information, of learning, and of knowledge.

Through their dominant place in the telecommunication and informatics industries, transnational conglomerates are simultaneously running the new school of lifelong learning and the new world economic order. Indeed to an increasing extent, distinctions between the two are moot. The issue for democratic educators, then, is **not** the content transmitted by the technologies but the toll to the lifeworld of increasing dependence on corporate sector packaging of the terms of human interaction and interdependence. To paraphrase McLuhan, the content carried by the technologies is just the raw meat the burglar tosses to the guard dog to distract attention as s/he slips by.

And yet, except for some **critical** cultural studies (Kellner, 1995), an analysis of cultural globalization is in its infancy. If lack of a disciplinary foundation keeps adult educators modest about their contribution to an analysis of economic globalization, the same logic would suggest a leadership role for adult education in scholarship on cultural globalization. The core of progressive adult education practice is learning, particularly learning in settings other than formal instructional ones. The Gordian knot of information, knowledge, learning, education, democracy and development is adult education. Scholars within the field generated the formative language and the conceptions of the learning society and lifelong education three decades ago; accordingly, lifelong education is not conceptually breathtaking to those inside the field. Freire and his formulation of pedagogy of the oppressed, education as cultural work, and the cultural circle metaphor have been basic to progressive adult education for a similar length of time. Adult education has the conceptual depth and breath to take a leadership role in advancing vital scholarship on the cultural dimensions of globalization. Canadian adult education experience with communication in nation building and for citizenship bolsters such a position.

However, full readiness of adult educators for this task requires attention to scholarship from communication. Unlike adult education, communication distinguishes between technology as device (or tool), and technology as structural power. Taking deposits from the communication bank is necessary for progressive adult educators but not sufficient. Communication, too, has its own lacuna, addressing the core issues implicated in learning, including *participation, empowerment, reciprocity, voice, dialogue, democracy*, but failing to engage with learning as a conceptual framework. An interdisciplinary approach between adult education and communication is overdue.

Political dimensions of globalization

Constructing/deconstructing globalization's web of significance for the lifeworld without attention to the political dimension of globalization would be hollow for critically informed adult educators. Again, the confident location of core beliefs offers a jumping off point. Axiomatic to education for social change is that democratic practices and ideals are inimical and accordingly, ordinary people create and re-create governance forms, structures, and apparatus at various levels of affiliation to carry out societal wide activities in their name and in keeping with their values and interest. In globalization, as before, education for social change, is harnessed to the political, the scope of which is now worldwide and global.

Despite general murkiness, two concerns of the political dimensions of globalization stand out. One is the manner in which central forces of globalization, notably media and technology, support or hinder the on-going project of deliberative democracy. The second is whether the current mechanisms of formal governance, those structures devised by nation-states before globalization, are adequate for the new geopolitics. Those issues are no less urgent because the radical democratic project needs to be reconfigured in light of advanced industrial capitalism and the perennial dilemmas of democracy. On the contrary, the project can only succeed if reconfigured with respect to the new social geography of globalization.

Educators for social change acknowledge that new communication and information technologies (both mass media and personal communication technologies) are factors in the third wave of democracy. The flow of messages, information, ideas and knowledge across former political boundaries has intensified; repressive regimes can no longer depend for their authority on control of its citizens' access to information. Nonetheless, unease about a one-to-one relationship between information and democracy has an empirical basis (Huntington, 1996). Why is it that a decline in the essentials of democracy is noticeable at the same time there is more access to information? What more do we need to understand about the relationship of information to transformative and democratic learning? A critical perspective would hold the big media of CITs as technologies of power and contrast them with small media as technologies of empowerment (Tehranian, 1989; Harris, in press).

The capacity of communication and information technologies to telescope distances, time, physical materiality and to promote symbolic relationships open perplexing questions about social cohesion, identity, and shared values. Strong ethnic movements in the peripheral spaces between the local and the global are signs of the struggle for belonging and a reaction to the transnationalization of previously bounded geographic frames. Now as globalization adds the possibility of communities of affinity to communities of vacinity, our previous basis for personal and geopolitical sovereignty requires fresh thinking.

An essential for worldwide democracy would be governance structures configured to address the particularities of global citizenship. Central among these particularities for global citizenship would be protection of the democratic commons. The commons refers to things that belong to everyone and therefore belong to no one - clear air and the oceans being examples from the environmental commons. The commons for public discourse or the cultural environment is no less important. Modernity is marked by a shift from relationships built on face to face encounters to relationships based on symbolic interactions and mediated exchanges, predominantly conducted through corporate owned and controlled communications and information technology. Still, global social policy on communication as the commons for democracy is still only a glimmer and a critical appraisal of the political dimension of globalization as the beast with two backs is in order.

Wagging the dog

Like others, the field and practice of adult education is struggling to come to terms with globalization in modernity/postmodernity. This paper proposes something bold; that progressive adult education not **just** cope with the wake or the wash of globalization, or **just** run parallel to globalization, no matter how nimbly or stylishly. Instead this paper argues that adult education has the option to position itself on a leading edge of globalization and give context and shape to its conceptualization in the interests of those sectors which are at the beating heart of progressive adult education. The collective transformative learning project requires surviving, critiquing and creating. This paper is clearly addressed to the second task, but the critique herein is offered to strengthen probability of the first and to focus the efficacy of the last.

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LEARNING, WORKING AND CAREGIVING: NURSING STUDENTS RISE TO THE CHALLENGE

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Using qualitative and quantitative data, this paper examines how role demands and support affect role strain and stress in nursing students with multiple roles.

APPRENDRE, TRAVAILLER, DONNER DES SOINS : LES ÉTUDIANTES EN SCIENCES INFIRMIÈRES RELÈVENT LE DÉFI

Plusieurs étudiantes adultes occupent un emploi en plus de cumuler des responsabilités familiales. Cette étude qualitative et quantitative examine comment les exigences et le soutien influencent la tension de rôles et le stress vécus par des étudiantes en sciences infirmières. Les résultats indiquent que les exigences affectent la tension qui, à son tour, influence le stress, mais le soutien venant de la famille et des ami/es le réduit. Les aidantes vivent plus de tension mais pas plus de stress.

Introduction Women are the major caregivers for children and for elderly and disabled relatives (Stone, Cafferata & Sangl, 1987). Women also comprise 70% of employees in "caring" occupations (Statistics Canada, 1991). Increasing numbers of women combine family responsibilities with university studies and many continue to work to finance their education. Combining informal caring with work or study in a "caring" profession can be especially challenging, yet few studies have examined the situation of nursing students who work and care for families. This paper examines the impact of combining caregiving responsibilities, work and student roles on the well-being of 212 women studying nursing. The findings are illustrated with examples from the authors' two qualitative studies.

Nurses, the majority of whom are women, assume many roles. Nurses' family responsibilities often include the care of children with special needs and dependent elderly relatives. In providing this care, nurses bear significant "costs of caring" in terms of emotional distress, physical health and general well-being (Marshall, Barnett, Baruch & Pleck, 1990). The new demand for caregiving created by increases in longevity constitutes a "third shift" for employed women (Doress-Worters, 1993). Nurses with caregiving responsibilities often feel ambivalent about working. As most nurses work long hours on inflexible work schedules, it is very difficult to cope with informal caregiving as well. Nursing students report that managing their multiple roles is made more stressful by their own expectations of doing well both academically and in the wife/mother role (Thompson, 1992).

The **theoretical framework** of the study was organised around four concepts. **Role demands** were defined as perceived expectations from each role set. Caregiving was included in family demands. Caregivers assume primary informal responsibility for the daily tending, supporting, and monitoring of a relative with physical, intellectual, emotional, or learning difficulties. **Role strain** is a felt difficulty in meeting role demands (Goode, 1960), which includes role conflict, overload, and contagion. Role strain can lead to **stress**, defined as consequences of situations perceived as taxing an individual's resources (Lazarus & Folkman, 1986). **Support**, defined as perceived assistance from family/friends, the university and the workplace can reduce the impact of stressful life situations (Krahn, 1993). Theorists agree that demands and support affect role strain and stress, but it is not clear how. The additive model holds that high demand increases strain and stress directly, while strong support reduces them. The buffering model states that demand and support interact, so that support lowers stress more when demands are high (Ladewig, McGee & Newell, 1990).

Method This research combined qualitative and quantitative methods. An initial qualitative study had explored the multiple role experiences and supports received by twenty women enrolled in social work and adult education programmes (Home, 1992)*. A second study of ten women examined the specific experience of caregivers and nursing students (Hinds, Home & Malenfant, 1996). Interview data from both studies were used to develop a questionnaire for a subsequent survey of women studying nursing, adult education and social work in Canadian universities. A purposive sampling approach ensured the seventeen selected programmes reflected linguistic and regional diversity, as well as differing degrees of adaptation for an adult clientele. Considerable effort was made to recruit all eligible women in the sampled programmes, resulting in an estimated response rate of 87%. All participants had to be at least 23 years old, employed a minimum of 9 hours weekly and caring for children or other dependent relatives. Respondents had to be enrolled in a final undergraduate year, a Master's degree or a post-RN programme. The final sample consisted of 492 women, 111 in adult education, 212 in nursing and 169 in social work. This paper focuses on the 212 nursing students, 60 of whom were caregivers. The instrument was a self-administered questionnaire, comprised of some existing and adapted scales as well as those developed from the qualitative data. A panel of experts and two pre-tests ensured good content validity for the new measures. All scales (role conflict, contagion, overload, stress, perception of demand and support) demonstrated satisfactory reliability. Readers are referred to Home (1998) for further information on the measures.

The researchers wanted to ensure they understood the practical implications of the overall survey findings, while making the latter accessible to a wide audience of potential users. An adapted focus group method was used to present preliminary findings in four regional feedback sessions. Over 100 representatives of diverse interest groups (unions, workers, students, employers, policy-makers) heard a summary of key findings, then participated in one of nine focus groups. Data analysis focused on implications for educational institutions and the workplace, including strategies for coping with obstacles to change (Home, 1996). Regional summaries were distributed to participants for local action, while aggregated data were combined with survey results to produce two short, bilingual publications which featured a data summary along with practical strategies (Home, Hinds, Malenfant & Boisjoli, 1995).

Further analysis of the survey data on the nursing students involved two main procedures. Multiple regression analysis was carried out, to examine how the six independent variables together accounted for variance in role strain and stress. Next, causal path analysis was done to test an initial model, which conceptualized demands and supports from family/friends, the university and the workplace each having a direct impact on role strain and stress. The stepwise method found no interaction between demands and support. The researchers therefore rejected the buffering model and tested the additive model.

Findings Over half the women in the nursing sample were employed full-time, while 85% were part-time students. Over three-quarters lived with a partner and children, while 11% were single mothers. The majority had one or two children under age 13. The average respondent was 40 years old. Fifteen percent had a family income of under $40,000. The adult education students showed a similar profile, except that all were graduate students. Twenty-eight percent of the nursing students were caregivers, nearly half of whom had children with disabilities. Most caregivers provided care to one person (usually living with them), though 15% had responsibility for two care recipients. Caregivers spent an average of 11.3 hours a week providing care for a family member.

Multivariate analysis showed that the support variables had no direct effect on role strain and only family/friend support impacted on stress directly. The initial model was trimmed, so that only significant paths were retained in the final model. Perceived demands from family/friends, the university and the workplace together accounted for 40% of the variance of role strain. Family/friend support and role strain were the only significant predictors of stress, together accounting for 42% of the variance. Perceived demands affected stress only indirectly through their impact on role strain. The impact of caregiver status was then examined, using analysis of variance. Caregiver status had a strong impact on family demand and a moderate impact on family support and role strain. Perceived intensity of family demand was significantly higher for women caring for two or more people. However, caregiver status had only an indirect effect on stress, through family demand and support.

Discussion and Conclusion. Three main findings emerged from this study: caregiver status increases family demand, all role demands increase role strain which in turn affects stress, while support from family and friends reduces stress. Each will be discussed and illustrated with examples drawn from the qualitative data. **Caregiver status** was found to increase perceived intensity of family demands. This is consistent with the qualitative data. For example, one single mother described a life spent trying to fit studies and a part-time job around the needs of her children and her elderly mother. Her intense family demands coupled with her overall load meant she learned little about nursing in her first year. However, she learned to study in little bits of time, to drive in all kinds of weather, to survive on very little money and to work despite lack of sleep (Home, 1996).

While all caregivers experience strain (Wharton & Erickson, 1995), it is probably worse for nurses because of their double socialization as women and professional care providers (Baines, 1991). It is not clear why caregiver status had no direct impact on stress. These caregivers may have mobilised informal support, or they may have used coping skills developed during their professional education to help manage their caregiving. It is essential to continue to examine this issue, as caregivers are expected to face increasingly heavy loads in the future (Doress-Worters, 1993).

However, student and job demands also contributed to role strain with those students facing more intense demands experiencing more strain. Nursing students spoke of their heavy educational demands, particularly the clinical aspects. As one student put it: "it is a lot of work and you cannot say I am not doing it or I am going to do it closer to the exam. How could I not be prepared for clinical?". Yet nursing students with family responsibilities had to find ways to accommodate both student and family demands. When those demands were urgent but conflicting, solutions were not easy to find. For example, one student lamented: "it always seemed like one of the children got sick just before mid-term examinations". Work demands can also be stressful for students employed in nursing. Difficulties can include long hours and shift work which often limit course selection for those nurses not holding consultant or managerial positions. Many students had no choice but to work in stressful working conditions, as their income was essential for family survival. It is not surprising, therefore, that burnout is quite prevalent among nurses returning to study for a baccalaureate degree (Dick & Anderson, 1993).

The last major finding was that support from family and friends decreased stress. The importance of informal support was reported also in the qualitative studies. One respondent who cared for an autistic child described the centrality of her husband's and the community's support. She explained that: "my husband and I have created an environment for our son. We moved to this place for him, we had another house but we did not feel he would develop so well in that community where he would be seen as abnormal, while this community sees him as special". Support from friends was essential for another nurse who was commuting to California regularly to care for two elderly parents. She noted that " at times I felt powerless and not in control... I needed support from my friends and I certainly got support, they sort of forced me to put things in perspective".

In conclusion, this study suggests that nurses who assume multiple roles experience much strain which can increase their stress. It is perhaps surprising that no nurses wanted to quit their studies. Several felt that returning to school had positive effects on them as wives, parents and workers. One said: "Studying made me a happier, more fulfilled and a more developed person". Others saw themselves as trail blazers as they had begun their educational pursuits at a time when family and friends were not very supportive of their decision. While these nursing students' desire to become life-long-learners may outweigh the strains and stresses, every effort should be made to see that they are not overburdened. Multiple roles, especially those involving caregiving, can lead to emotional collapse, financial hardship, strained personal relationships, declines in physical health and slower career progress (Brody, 1985). Given the impact of support on stress, educators need to help multiple role women mobilise informal support and press for more supportive work and educational environments.

- *The Canadian Association of Schools of Social Work was a partner throughout the research. The Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, a partner in the first qualitative study, was replaced by the Canadian Association of University Schools of Nursing for the other phases of the research. The research was supported by a SSHRC strategic grant.*

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THE S-CURVE RELEVANCE TO COLLECTIVE LEARNING FOR KNOWING USING *TRACE* PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH

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WELLTH Learning Network Inc.

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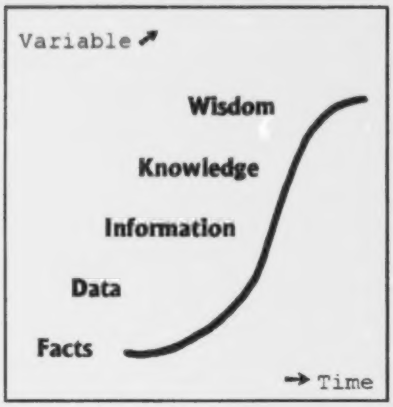
The degree to which knowledge becomes valid rests on the data collection technology. This paper integrates the S-curve model illustrating the data to knowledge relationship with the participatory action research technology called TRACE. The combination of theory and practice outlines the generative learning for reliable knowing required by collectives to evaluate their current culture and marketplace of activities.

La mesure de la validité de la connaissance dépend de la technologie de collecte des données. Le présent ouvrage intègre le modèle de courbe-S illustrant le rapport entre les données et la connaissance au moyen de la technologie TRACE de recherche active et participative. La combinaison de la théorie et de la pratique présente les grandes lignes de l'apprentissage génératif de la connaissance fiable requise par les collectifs pour évaluer leur présente culture et la place de leurs activités sur le marché.

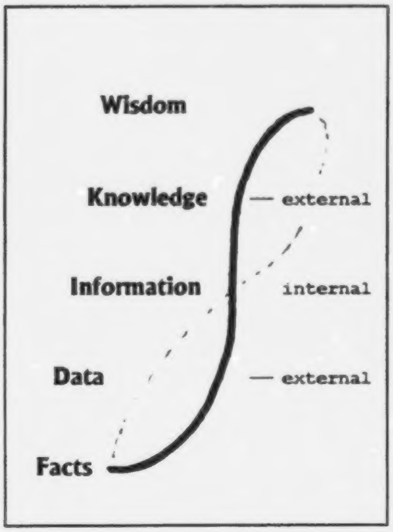
Preface:

The title of the paper serves as a "pathmap" for the paper. The key terms in the title become the subtitles of the paper. In addition, because visual mapping is used extensively in our work, we have continued our tradition in this paper.



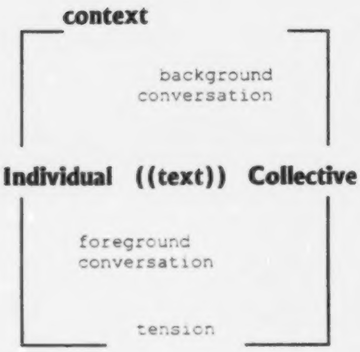
The **S-Curve** or sigmoid curve is a diagram used to illustrate a time by specified variable relationship. It is often used to illustrate concepts like innovation, change, program planning and product lifecycle. Along, its curved form, words can be introduced that describe and explain different stages through which the concept passes from conception to completion.

In this paper, the S-curve is used to illustrate a relationship between facts, data, information, knowledge, and wisdom. (Hobbs, 1996).



The visual highlights the accumulation of facts to data to information to knowledge to wisdom. The graduated suggestion of the words on the curve provides a path to follow by which facts to data are collected from the external lifeworld and framed (and/or reframed) as information in the internal lifeworld to form knowledge to be shared as wisdom in the external lifeworld.

Should this path be the experience of an individual, then one person's wisdom is another's fact. The affinity sign illustrates this connection of wisdom with fact. More important, this visual is a reminder of the cyclical nature of facts through to wisdom in return to facts. This illustration highlights the energy of the model, a concept explained later in the article.



Another path explained by the curve deals with **collectives**. Here, the term collective refers to organizational groupings such as team, department, unit and organization as a whole. Because the collective is made up of individuals, a tension exists between individual needs and those of the collective. The bracketed lines display the tension.

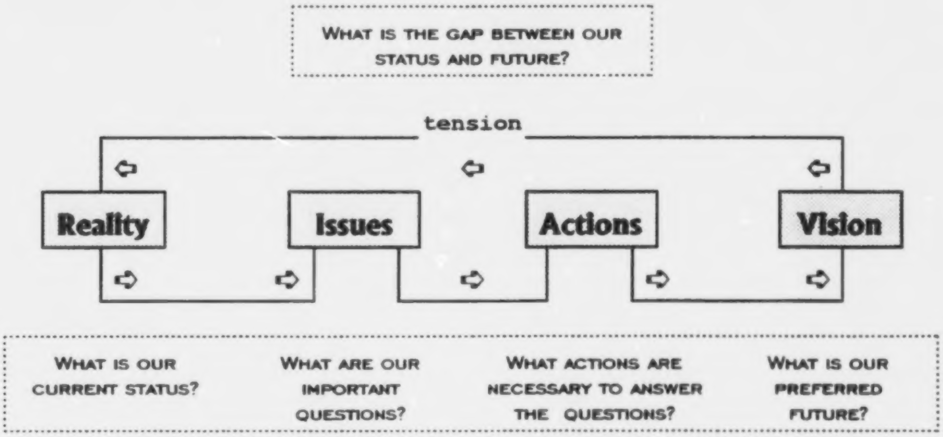
Also, the bracketed lines represent the "context" of the tension. It is the text (foreground and/or background conversation) within this context that explains either individual and/or **collective learning**. The text becomes the learning conversation identified by Harri-Augstein and Thomas (1991).

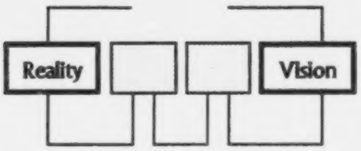
Collective learning for knowing is gaining an understanding of (or learning) the subject while having an understanding of (or knowing) the subject within collectives. Learning is about what influences the collective and knowing is about what the collective influences. From the external world the collective learns (perspective taking or takes meaning from the collective experience - facts to data) and internally translates that learning into knowing (data to information to knowledge) to form action(s) and/or potential actions (perspective making or making meaning from the collective experience - knowledge to wisdom) to be used in the external world. The wisdom of the collective can be the fact(s) used by another collective.

A methodology and complementary technology used to gather and review collective learning for knowing is participatory action research and TRACE technology. Action research is an iterative process of intervening, collecting data on the effectiveness of the intervention, reflecting on the results, and designing new interventions Argyris (1992). The action research model emphasizes the link between research and action that is practical to the context in which it is used.

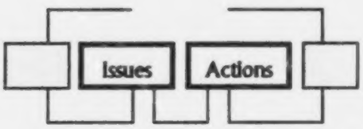
Participatory action research is a form of action research that involves the educator as both subject and co-researcher with the learners. Based on Kurt Lewin's (1951) original introduction of this methodology Argyris (1992) concludes that participatory action research "aims at creating an environment in which participants [learners and educators] give and get valid information, make free and informed choices (including the choice to participate), and generate internal commitment to the results of the inquiry" (p. 414).

TRACE (Transformation Readiness And Change Evaluation) is a proprietary methodology and technology (Grant, 1998) that records and analyzes the background conversations of collectives through participatory action research. The technology uses Kurt Lewin's (1951) concept of force field analysis. Lewin's work maintains that to bring about change one needs to increase facilitating (helping) forces and eliminate restraining (hindering) forces. This flow of energy is captured through TRACE as the background conversation of the participants who describe their perceptions during the collecting of data. The Strategic Quantum Management model used to describe and explain TRACE is shown next.


WHAT IS THE GAP BETWEEN OUR STATUS AND FUTURE?
tension
Reality
Issues
Actions
Vision
WHAT IS OUR CURRENT STATUS?
WHAT ARE OUR IMPORTANT QUESTIONS?
WHAT ACTIONS ARE NECESSARY TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONS?
WHAT IS OUR PREFERRED FUTURE?

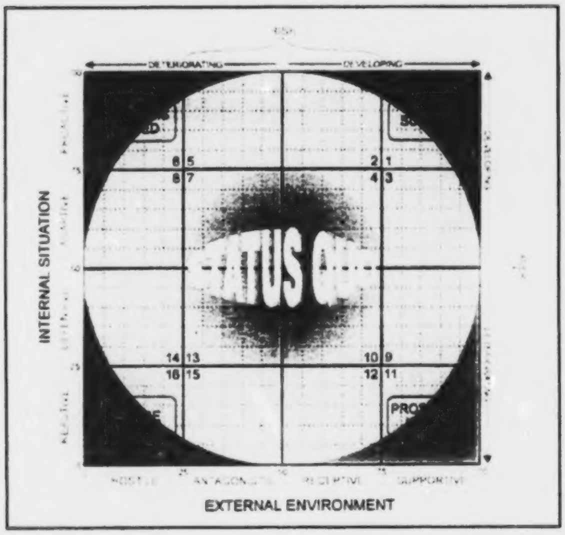

Reality
Vision

Between the vision and reality a creative tension is established. For a collective to improve, it is important to gain and have an understanding (learning for knowing) of what has happened, what is happening, and what can possibly happen between the polarity of vision and reality.


Issues
Actions

The gap between reality and vision is made up of issues to be identified and actions required to address the issues. The participatory action research with force field analysis is used to collect the data (learning conversation.) Whether as individuals or in designated groups, a person provides statements in response to a research question under the guidance of the educator.

In collecting the data, two perspectives are considered. They are the internal situation and external environment. Statements are collected in facilitating and restraining columns for both perspectives. Then the statements are scrutinized, matched against a set of definitions and collectively accepted. From the internal situation, facilitating column, for example, the statements are classified as strengths and potentials. Each statement is data with direction and energy. Analyzing this data creates information that frames the issues. The data (statements in force field charts) and information (categories) for both perspectives is documented and given to the client for review.



Within the report the client is offered a single point reference on the Strategic Grid © (Grant, 1998). This reference point is calculated through the mathematical interpretation (to quantify the qualitative data) of the weighting assigned to the statements. The grid point is the intersection between the percentage value on the external environment scale and the percentage value on the internal situation scale. The two scales are divided by quartiles. On the external environment scale the quartiles are labeled as hostile, antagonistic, receptive and supportive. The internal situation scale is labeled as reactive, defensive, adaptive and proactive.

InformaCtion

☐ inform-for-action, to be able to see ("C") what has happened for the purpose of ethically deciding So what? Then what? scenarios

The issues identified (or collective information) is filtered through ethical decision making (Meneghetti & Seel, in press) to identify what issue(s) by intervention(s) is/are necessary. The main issues or size of conversation provide insight into what is taking up the time and effort of those involved with the collective. This awareness-attention is the "TR" of TRACE.

Through dialogue, insight is available as to the readiness of the collective for transition, in particular transformation. The "A" or delta sign refers to the decision for intervention; it is the attention-intention phase of the technology. In other words, action taken on important issues identified will result in transformation. Not only will the issues acted upon shift, all issues will shift to varying degrees. This issue-action relationship is about a "change conversation" where valid knowledge is based on generative learning. It is knowledge translated as collective energy with direction; what is collectively known at that time, in that space.

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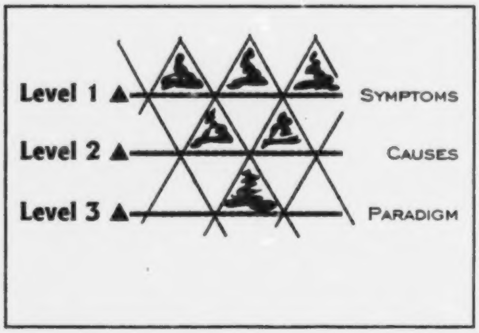

An illustration of the multiple shift is the iceberg analogy. At the first level, acting on the issue effects it. At the next level with the "connectiveness" of issues (because of the learning conversation), when one is influenced another is influenced. Because of the complexity (the weaving of conversations) of the situation and the nature of interaction, each issue is affected. The dialogue that occurs at this stage involves wisdom sharing and vision clarification.

The degree to which the effect is seen is found during the "CE" of TRACE. This "looping back" phase has the collective review the first set of data and add, delete and/or revise the data. Again, the analysis is completed, a second report is provided, comparisons are made, and the dialogue continues.

Summary:

As mentioned earlier, the S-curve is cyclical in nature just as the TRACE model. Therefore, by layering the two models, it is possible to illustrate the "***S-curve relevance to collective learning for knowing using TRACE participatory action research***."

During the presentation of the paper, time will be available to elaborate on points made in this paper. Also, a case study will be offered to illustrate TRACE better.

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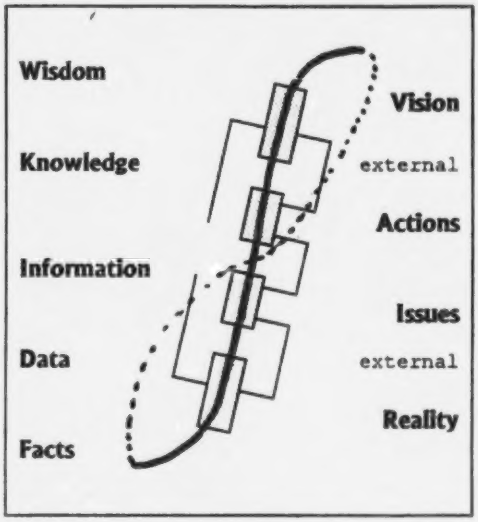

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SHIFTING THE GROUND OF THE FAMILIAR: DOING ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH IN INDIA

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A researcher immersed in an unfamiliar environment has opportunity to undergo a transformative learning process. The author examines critical phases of her research experience that enabled the emergence of a new perspective, grounded in the Indian context.

Plongé dans un milieu étranger, un chercheur a l'occasion de vivre un processus d'apprentissage transformateur. L'auteur examine les phases critiques de son experience de recherche qui ont permis l'émergence d'une nouvelle perspective ancrée dans le contexte indien.

Research experience in India presents challenges that fuel a transformative learning process. This paper explores key elements in a process that shifts the ground of the familiar and shapes the emergence of new perspectives. My purpose is to explore the lived experience of researching in India to reveal how the inquiry became grounded in the Indian context.[1]

Before leaving Canada my research objective was to examine educators' roles in preserving and transforming handweaving traditions in India. During fourteen weeks in Delhi, Gujarat and Rajasthan, I met with museum directors, design educators, consultants, members of grass roots organizations and weavers. Through observation, conversations and reading, I became connected with a vast and complex problem, the economic survival of handweavers.

Self-directed learning and relational learning are well studied principles of adult education. However, a new perspective comes to light when intercultural experience is the domain of learning, particularly when the ground is shifted from North to South, Canada to India. An unfamiliar context of physical and relational experiences impacts the research in profound ways, adding new dimension to the concept of emergent research design.

Throughout the research I kept two journals; one contained research data, the other recorded reflections. In this paper I draw primarily from the reflective journal to show how the intense physicality of living in India, the unique quality of interpersonal experiences, and the energetic field of local knowledge were critical in transforming my perspective.[2]

Anticipation of the Unfamiliar

I have long appreciated the value of experiencing unfamiliar situations and settings. For example, I lived with a Navajo family in the American Southwest during 1970-71, where I learned to weave. Preparing for another transition to new impressions and a new sense of myself, as I waited to board the plane for

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[1] The research on which this paper is based was funded by the Government of India through the India Studies Pogramme of the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute.

[2] All quotations are from the author's journal, except where otherwise indicated.

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Delhi I wrote, *"I am about to be the 'other,' the one who is from away, the one who is ignorant of what is familiar to others - familiar in terms of sights, sounds and smells, ideas, views, and relationships"* (02/09/97).

This was my first trip to India. What I had read and heard and prepared myself for would provide an entry point. However, I knew that anticipation of new experience was simply that. Something else would occur that I could not anticipate. *"I can not think my way to India; taking one step at a time is the only way to enter 'the new'. I need to wait in lineups, say goodbyes, put one foot in front of the other as I enter the plane"* (02/09/97).

Shock of the New

Arriving in India alone on a hot night at the beginning of September, initiated an encounter with myself in a very unfamiliar environment. During the following weeks I experienced heat, population density, and pollution levels previously unknown to me. I embarked upon eating new kinds of food, using unfamiliar modes of transportation, and relying on unpredictable telephone communication.

A big fan thrust the air around my hot little room in the Indian Social Institute residence. Day time highs were over 35 C; night time lows of about 25 C. By early morning, the intense heat and brightness made moving around outside impossible for any length of time. Setting out to go anywhere exposed me to new impressions and provoked a sense of incomprehension.

> *Each view is full of vitality and contrast. People are crowded into every inch. Begging women in dirty saris next to professional women in elegant saris. Tall lean men with dark hair and eyes looking intently, curious. Outside my room for fifteen or twenty minutes and I have seen and been seen and yet barely touched this other world. I pass by people lying or crouched on the ground, refuse in piles, scooters and rickshaw drivers. The intense heat bites a hole in my flesh and my body drips. On an excursion to find a one rupee coin to make a phone call and no change is to be found nearby* (05/09/97).

"Air pollution kills a person every hour in Delhi" (Hindustan Times, October 31, 1997). Statistics of premature death, due to high levels of suspended particulate matter laden with toxic chemicals, make a joke of small signs pasted on the backs of rickshaws and buses, "Keeping Pollution Under Control." Streets are clogged with cars, taxis, motor scooters, rickshaws burning a combination of diesel fuel and motor oil, large filthy diesel fuelled buses, as well as bicycles and cycle rickshaws. Sitting in a rickshaw, I was in the midst of the noise, smell and danger of fast-paced vehicles weaving in and out. Crossing streets was equally bad. I wrote, *"This is a place where the word chaos is too simple, too tidy a concept. If humanity can bear this, if the earth can bear this intensity, there is hope"* (09/09/97).

Stripping Away

The physical impact of the environment, in combination with not knowing ordinary things about how to get around and how to reach people by phone, emerged as an ongoing obstacle to being able to make plans and follow through with them. My ordinary sense of how to do this was challenged.

> *The difficulty is simply going from place to place. In a sense I am stuck here because I do not want to go out into the noise, pollution, traffic and be negotiating for rides or walking and not knowing where I am or how far things are. Mostly it is the exhaustion of being on the street and going from A to B...*
>
> *I find it's hard to make a plan and follow through - maybe this happens once or twice, but more often each idea gets side-tracked (due to lack of connection) and then*

> *forgotten (amidst the press of everything else)* (11/09/97).

I was "up against myself" as well as the unfamiliarity of the environment. At times I had energy to make the required effort; other times I lacked energy or direction. I became tired and desired familiarity, solitude, and open spaces. My room became a refuge. The pace and content of my life altered radically.

> *I am experiencing and recycling my experiences through reflection. Isolation fosters introspection. I need to wait and be patient. This is not a time for forcing anything, but I need to keep alert to what is going on inside me and around. This is a transition time, the waiting time. Don't rush it or get panicky* (06/09/97).

The first week demanded physical adjustment to being in India; the second week called for emotional adjustment. Saying good bye to friends and family was followed by a new layer of letting go, including: tempo and routines of life, work, communication and mobility. Being outside my familiar cultural context exposed the thin veneer of culture, for example, what one does or does not eat, wear, look at, speak or know about. I realized this was a special opportunity to learn.

> *I am here to discover no more, no less, than myself. The shock is enormous. What I am made of - all my constructions since birth of my cultural personality. This is what becomes more apparent in these conditions, where the surroundings expose the "falsity" of the personality - meaning the temporal/local limitations of the structured self. These constructions suit something in a particular context - and are highly unsuitable in another* (12/09/97).

Being in a strange place, strangeness is a boundary. But a new perspective is possible when attachment to the familiar and resistance to the unfamiliar is somehow released. Boundaries become places of transition. I remember this feeling of moving beyond that edge of strangeness.

> *I had passed Khan Market before but never entered. I didn't understand it from a distance. Looked dirty, crowded. I had no sense of entry point or even knowing what I was looking for. But today I wandered, looked into little shops crowded from floor to ceiling. Stores for groceries, bicycle sales and repair, film, stationary, saris and cloth, meat, sweets and books. I browsed in four book stores with great pleasure - the sense of the familiar and the excitement of new titles. Although I walked by Khan Market a week ago - hurried by without knowing where I was - now there is a path of familiarity to this spot. I can return. The distance is perhaps a half hour walk from the hostel, via Lodhi Gardens. So this is my new sphere. Making the strange familiar is a way of making boundaries be transition points. There are now new possibilities* (13/09/97).

Seeking and Finding Connections

Being alone in India, sometimes I longed for the familiarity of communication with friends and family, the chance to share decision making or stories of the day. Isolation added to the difficulties of coping with the unfamiliar. However, a generosity of spirit among people I met enabled me to learn, receive help and feel a sense of companionship.

Staying in Delhi at the Indian Social Institute residence I engaged in conversation with people from all over India who were attending conferences or courses on social and economic development. It was an education each time I sat down to a meal and began speaking with people who were directly involved in community and environmental action in their own communities. I heard stories of poverty and resource depletion, and also stories of effort, determination, compassion, self-sacrifice and hope. I was learning about *"the paradoxes of India: desperate conditions of poverty; high-bred greed and affluence; energy* *and commitment of thousands working in churches, NGOs or independently to make a difference. This is not academic or theoretical stuff. This is lived lives and learning in action"* (09/09/97).

Each conversation helped to shift my perspective. Sometimes I felt that people's experiences in different parts of India was beyond my understanding. However, I understood the act of communication - listening and telling stories from different worlds of experience. While researching at the National Institute of Design in Ahmedabad, where students wear Western clothes and speak English, and the study of design is a cross-cultural concept, I wrote:

> *Differences are actually based on what is unknown about the other, more than what is known. Communication, sharing of knowledge and experience puts together in the open different points of view, and the human "glue" of connectedness allows for the softening of boundaries - to some extent* (18/10/97).

Being in an unfamiliar country you cannot take for granted that you will find the connections that sustain you. I discovered how much I depended on others' kindness and generosity, especially when I needed people to help me figure out how to get around or to "be there" when I was unwell. The warmth and naturalness of people I met was nourishing and I felt welcomed and cared for. This unexpected benevolence was a counter force to many difficulties and sustained me throughout my time in India.

Shaping the Inquiry

The research project unfolded in a context of obstacles, surprises and an expanding sphere of relationships and experiences. Focusing on the project was essential for organizing and giving purpose to each day. Contacting people by phone and making and keeping appointments was important, but often my attempts were unsuccessful and I adapted my plans continually. At first this process was frustrating, but gradually I accepted the circumstances I was a part of.

> *The order of the day is always conditional. There are always obstacles to personal intent and therefore life is a mystery. The chaos of India is a teacher of "waiting" or "allowing" and therefore - of conversations with others who happen to share a particular space at a particular time* (21/10/97).

With each successful contact I became linked to a network of people with concerns for artisans in India. Each conversation extended my exploration of how handweaving was transformed due to social and economic forces, such as, caste oppression, exploitation by middlemen, loss of local markets, and not continuing to teach the next generation to weave. Each conversation included an abundance of suggestions for more people to meet and places to go. My project was drawn forward and shaped by these suggestions, but as the list grew to include distant regions and villages, I had to accept the limitations of what was possible for me to do. I also needed to take time to reflect upon what I was learning. As well as regular note keeping, periodically I wrote an extensive overview of what I had learned so far in order to integrate a vast amount of detail into a larger picture that was taking shape for me.

The research project was a bridge between my proposal formulated in Canada and my experience in India. As my connections in India strengthened and my experience broadened, the perspective underlying my proposal was challenged, shifted, and transformed. Like a seed husk, the proposal was discarded, but the seed found new ground and began to take root in new soil. While visiting weavers' villages in Rajasthan, I learned about rural development initiatives that are making a positive difference to the survival and well-being of weavers' communities, including programs and interventions which benefit weavers through equipment and skill upgrading, design education, marketing assistance, community development. Studying the history and principles of the Rural University (a learning experiment initiated in 1970 by the Indian Institute of Management in the poorest district of Rajasthan) and also the aims and operations of URMUL (a community-based weavers society), I saw that sustained effort to develop a community forum for artisans to share their experiences and needs and evolve meaningful action plans can, in time, increase their self-respect, productivity and self-reliance.

Sometimes the picture seemed too large and ungraspable. Even though I felt I had barely scratched the surface, I reached a saturation point and it was difficult to take in more. As my endurance diminished for embracing the challenges of living in India, I began to wind up my work and not make more plans. Along with a sense of completion came ideas for future research. I began thinking about "next time" in India.

Walking and Talking Differently

Experiential self-directed and relational learning was at the heart of this inquiry. Seeking to learn and having opportunity to learn in an unfamiliar intercultural context initiated a process that enlarged my perspective and shifted the ground of the familiar. It is difficult to say exactly when this happened, but I realized I was "walking and talking differently." My pace slowed and tolerance of circumstances expanded. I knew what I had to deal with daily and I wasted less energy on resisting or overreacting to things that I could not make different. As impressions of the streets became more familiar, I felt more at ease walking and finding my way around alone.

At the same time, a world previously unknown to me had opened up. I asked different questions and participated in conversations with a point of view that had emerged in the Indian context. Implications for further research took shape: How can handweaving be integral to sustainable development within rural communities? What kinds of initiatives can link weavers and their products with new markets (ensuring economic survival of weavers' and therefore continuity of handweaving skills and knowledge) and also support indigenous knowledge and community and environmental sustainability?

As adult education research embraces questions of global sustainability, there is a need for understanding diverse cultural knowledge about ways of living and making a living. A challenge for the intercultural researcher is to dwell within unfamiliarity and record shifts in perception of familiarity. This is not a straight forward process. Reoccurrence of a sense of dislocation combines with gaining strength on new ground. Simultaneous forces move the process forward and hold it back, opposing and enabling at the same time. However, after enduring the shock of the new and a loss of one's usual ways of doing things, and also opening to a new environment and finding connections with others, the ground of the familiar becomes irrevocably changed. The impact of this transformative experience became more clear upon returning to home in Toronto.

> *I see things here that I have known, used, worn in the past. As I need them, move around and with them, they become animated again. Right now, much of this is dormant. By contrast, things I have carried with me from India, things I have touched and used again and again during three and a half months, have an aura and atmosphere of that place. They carry memories that are active, alive - not dormant. Although these too will slip back into a place of silent memory, they are extensions of my experience of daily life in India* (09/12/97).

BLOOD, SWEAT AND TEARS: BATTLING TENDENCY AND TRADITION IN THE VIRTUAL CLASSROOM

by
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Abstract

How can the teaching-learning process serve distance learners as well as possible? This paper presents a framework for accommodating learners' transitions through the developmental stages associated with the introduction of technologies in learning.

Comment est-ce le processus d'apprentissage peut mieux servir l'apprenant à distance? Ce mémoire décrit les étapes qui facilitent la transition d'apprentissage chez les étudiants qui font une première expérience avec les nouvelles modalitiés de présentation de cours.

Introduction

Although in the last few years we have witnessed tremendous growth in increasing access to higher education learning opportunities in Alberta, there are still many populations that are educationally marginalized. Individuals in these areas experience situational barriers that prevent them from accessing higher education - most notably, geographic isolation, weather, course and program scheduling, family commitments, employment and financial responsibilities. For the past 15 years, the University of Alberta's Faculty of Education has delivered a single-point outreach Bachelor of Education in Adult Education program to meet this need through a combination of print, on-site delivery, and audio-conferencing.

As the demand for undergraduate and graduate programs in adult education for geographically dispersed learners continued to rise, the Department of Educational Policy Studies at the University of Alberta was granted approval to expand the Bachelor of Education (Adult Education specialty) and the Masters of Education in Adult and Higher Education to a multi-point delivery system. Extending the university's reach to a wider geographic audience required intelligent choices of available technological software and hardware. As McCullough & McCullough (1994) so aptly stated: "Finding a suitable match between the capabilities of the technology and the needs of learners is the key challenge" (p. 29). A decision was made to use a combination of web-based instruction, video or audio conferencing, and computer conferencing for a multi-point delivery program.

While the integration of technologies to the outreach program supported the activities featured in traditional, on-campus classrooms, it was not without its own problems, the most notable of which was helping learners achieve a high level of comfort with the Internet as a learning environment. As we began delivering programs using the mixed technologies, among the many problems that became apparent was learner resistance to using the Internet in a way that constructively supported a community of learners.

This presentation will examine distance learning experiences in terms of learners' learning styles, the strategies they developed to accommodate their learning tendencies, and their communication processes.

Learner Resistance: Shock, Surrender, and Success

As institutions of higher education explore the use of technologies while implementing new distance learning programs, they find that the learning curve for adults is a steep and slippery slope. Although there has been enormous advancement in making Internet software user-friendly, research conducted on the use of technologies in the teaching-learning process reveals that using the Internet as a learning environment continues to trouble adult learners, and a recent poll indicates that the Internet ranks one of the least favorite ways to learn (Daniel, 1996). And while "online education offers a means to educators in assisting people in overcoming situational barriers... the very technology that has allowed us to overcome those situational barriers may form the basis of a dispositional barrier, namely computer anxiety" (Lauzon, 1991).

Woods (1994) observed that students forced to take major responsibility for their own learning experienced some or all of the steps that psychologists associate with trauma and grief: shock, denial, strong emotion, resistance and withdrawal, surrender and acceptance, struggle and exploration, return of confidence, integration and success. Not surprisingly, traditional students using computer technologies experience the same pattern that Woods describes in his article, "Traditional students in a nontraditional class: A painful odyssey." Using Woods' model, following is a brief description of each stage that we observed in our program.

1. *Shock*: I don't believe it! She really thinks she is going to make us use the computer for this course!
2. *Denial*: She can't be serious! No way am I going to do it. She can't make me. This is not the way we do these courses. She doesn't understand how we do things. There is no need to change the way we do things. She can't be serious...
3. *Strong emotion*: Wow, she is serious! I can't do it. I don't know how to install the software. I can't do group work using the computer. I can't type well enough. I'll fail this course. I can't do it. I'd better drop the course. She can't make me do this. I'm going to complain to someone above her.
4. *Resistance and withdrawal*: OK, I need this course. I can't drop out. But I am not going to do it her way. I will do it my way. No way is anyone going to make me use the computer. I will get someone to print out all the information. I will either mail in or fax my assignments. I will do this-but it will be my way!
5. *Surrender and acceptance*: OK, so I can't get through the course without having to do things her way. This is really stupid, but if I am going to do this course, I'll have to use the computer. I'll probably get a really bad mark-but it is a bad course with a bad instructor.

6. *Struggle and exploration*: Hmmm, others seem to be doing alright. Maybe I can do this too. My colleagues at work think that it is sort of neat that I am using the Internet for my course. Maybe this isn't all bad. Maybe I need to try a little harder.
7. *Return of confidence*: Hey, am I good at this or what! I had no idea how easy the computer is to use. I might even do well in this course.
8. *Integration and success*: Using the computer for this course was one of the best learning experiences I have ever had! I don't know why I thought I would have a problem learning this way. It's been a great experience!

Based on our instructional team's observations, interactions, and participants' learning journals, research showed that learners adapting to new technologies and methodologies experience resistance. This is in agreement with much of the literature that states most adult learners experience resistance based on their expectations, their learning histories, and their predisposition to learning (Garrison and Shale, 1990; Garrison, 1989).

Instructional Strategies to Overcome Resistance

Without the support provided by an instructor's physical presence and the comfort of a classroom, what should instructors know that can assist learners in making the transition through the developmental stages associated with new experiences: from initial shock through the reluctance of surrender to ultimate integration and success? (Woods, 1994). A number of strategies that we found effective are well documented in the literature (Moore & Kearsley, 1996; Willis, 1993); however, the following factors were discovered to be essential to success when integrating technologies in a distance program.

Good pedagogy will always reflect a human quality. The reality is that learning technologies will not miraculously metamorphose bad instructors into good ones. They will not increase the quality of learning. Good pedagogy will forever contain a human element that includes interaction in the learning process. In the end it is the level of the interaction between the learners, the instructor, and the content that will determine the quality of a learner's educational experience—whether it is face-to-face or distributed learning using the Internet.

Good pedagogy precedes good technology. The value of technologies as a communication medium in the learning process is directly related to the learners' need. A paramount problem with much of the current technically- enhanced instruction has to do with the fact that many instructors are finding that most technologies are relatively easy to learn and many of the features are seductive. This often results in good teaching practices (instructional design, significance, depiction, reflective thought) being subsumed because it is fun to play with the media. Almost anyone can learn how to use technologies; the difficult, but critical, component, however, is to integrate what we know about how our learners learn with technological expertise. Technology integration is neither economically nor educationally justifiable without meaningful interaction between the learners, the instructor and the content.

Creating pedagogically sound technology enhanced instructional materials takes time and requires new skills. Most educators are usually surprised and then overwhelmed at the time and skills required when developing distance education materials. YES! It takes time and requires new skills; it also requires the support of and collaboration from individuals who have competencies in using learning technologies.

One technology alone is not effective. The web is a wonderful medium for disseminating information, facilitating learner-content interaction and aiding assessment (instructor, learner, and course). Reading materials also facilitate learner-content interaction. Computer mediated communication helps to facilitate learner-learner and learner-instructor interaction in addition to building a community of learners, as do audio and videoconferencing and face-to-face instruction. Effective technology integration will include learner-learner interaction, learner-instructor interaction, learner-content interaction and support learning communities. The provision of these elements necessitates the integration of a number of technologies such as web-based instruction, computer-mediated conferencing, video and audio communication, print based media, and face-to-face instruction.

Know each technology's strength and weakness. Every educator's decision to integrate technologies in the learning process needs to be based upon an informed understanding of their strengths and weakness. Upon deciding to use technologies, educators should have a sound understanding of how to use them as a learning environment, communication medium and as tools in the learning process.

Conclusion

The integration of technologies into the learning environment has tremendous potential to remove many situational barriers to learning opportunities. More importantly, however, technology integration can provide opportunities for learner-learner and learner-instructor interaction in a way that could not, previously, be economically or educationally justified in distance education. In spite of the problems outlined in this paper, these developments offer very exciting opportunities for distance educators to provide rich and meaningful learning experiences for outreach students. With these new technologies, the only boundaries we have to providing meaningful learning opportunities are the ones we impose on ourselves through our reluctance to meet a brave new, technologically-enhanced world.

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CONSTRUCTING THE ROLE OF THE ADULT EDUCATOR IN HIGHER EDUCATION: EXPERIENCED AND INEXPERIENCED FACULTY'S ROLE CONCEPTUALIZATIONS

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Abstract/Resumé

Experienced (N=16) and inexperienced (N=46) university teachers completed a repertory grid on educator roles. Experienced university teachers were found to rate the elements and constructs more extremely, to discriminate more between the various roles, and to identify less with any of the supplied roles, than do inexperienced university teachers.

Les universitaires avec ou sans expérience complis un repertory grid. En comparaison avec les nouveaux universitaires, les universitaires expérimentés se sont révélées plus aptes a réconnaître les différences associées avec les diverses rôles.

Purpose of the study: An effective teaching-learning interaction may be partially attributable to an educator's ability to adapt him or herself to the characteristics of the learning environment by assuming a certain set of educator roles (Cranton, 1992). To date, is has not been empirically investigated how adult educators construe their roles, how reflection on educator roles may be promoted, and whether these conceptualizations differ between effective/experienced and inexperienced adult educators.

Theoretical framework: Faculty's thinking about educator roles could be explored using Kelly's (1955) notion of implicit theory developed in the social psychological literature. From the perspective of personal construct psychology (Adams-Webber, 1979; Bannister, 1962; Catina & Scheer, 1993; Kelly, 1955; Neimeyer & Neimeyer, 1992), the implicit theory of educator roles that university teachers hold is the special knowledge they have accumulated on the basis of their work-related experience. This knowledge they have personally constructed as a result of actively engaging with teaching and reflecting on what it means to be a teacher. This "theory", on a structural level, can be conceived of as an interrelated system of personally constructed hypotheses, or constructs. These constructs are "interpretation schemes" that faculty rely on in their *thinking* about their roles, and, so it stands to reason, also in their professorial *practice* (note: the notion that the professional's theory of practice guides his or her actions is widely accepted in the professional development literature [e.g., Argyris & Schon, 1974] as well as the teacher development literature [e.g., Brookfield, 1995]). The constructs or schemes may change as a result of new experience (just as scientists revise their hypotheses in light of contradictory evidence). As individual constructs change (or sets of hypotheses change), the entire construct system (or theory) gradually moves towards further sophistication and complexity, characterized by greater integration, greater discrimination, and greater permeability of the construct system. In the adult development literature, Jack Mezirow (1991) described this process as perspective transformation.

Personal construct systems are considered "**implicit** theories" as they often remain in a subconscious or intuitive state. There is evidence that the more sophisticated an individual's construct system the more difficult it is for the individual to articulate this knowledge (Adams-Webber, 1995). For the higher education context, Boice (1993) reported research that showed that much of the knowledge successful faculty have is a "tacit knowledge" (Polanyi, 1962); i.e., knowledge which is powerful in guiding their practice but difficult for them to express in ways so that others could derive the same meaning from it.

The repertory grid: Following his "theory of personal constructs", Kelly developed a method, known as the repertory grid technique, which has the potential to make these implicit theories explicit. Originally developed by Kelly (1955) for counselling purposes the repertory grid has since been further developed and widely applied (using both elicited and/or provided elements and constructs) to other fields of inquiry including educational research (Pope & Denicolo, 1993; Fromm, 1995; Zuber-Skerritt, 1992). As the repertory grid was directly derived from Kelly's (1955) theory of personal constructs, the assumptions underlying repertory grid methodology are congruent with those of personal construct theory. Repertory grids, therefore, tell us something about the level of integration as well as differentiation of a person's construct system.

Methodology: The repertory grid is a two-dimensional matrix representing a person's construct system with respect to a particular domain of experience (Adams-Webber, 1994). In this study the domain of experience considered was university teaching. The grid consists of a series columns and rows. Each column represents a concrete event associated with the experience. Each row represents a particular construct used by the person when differentiating among the various specific events. The constructs are bipolar in that they simultaneously abstract similarity and difference (Kelly, 1955). The respondent's task is to rate each event (here educator roles) in relation to each bipolar construct listed. Typically a Likert-scale from 1 to 5 is used, whereby a rating of 1 represents one pole of the construct and a rating of 5 the other.

Research design: Phase one: Nine university teachers completed a repertory grid consisting of seven supplied educator roles (lecturer, facilitator, mentor, researcher, challenger, resource person, "myself as an educator"). For this first grid task, each respondent was asked to generate between eight and ten personal bipolar constructs (for example: "instructor-centered" versus "learner-centered") following Kelly's triad procedure. Phase two: A new grid was formed which listed only those constructs which had received the highest extremity ratings (extremity is an index of personal meaningfulness) in the nine individual grids. This new grid listed a total of 25 constructs. This standardized grid was then completed by seven experienced university teachers who already participated in phase one. Again, extremity ratings were calculated for each

construct in each individual grid and average extremity ratings were conducted for each construct. Constructs with lower extremity ratings were excluded. The new grid then listed twelve constructs which appeared to be meaningful for participants in research phases one and two.
Phase three: The standardized repertory grid (consisting of seven supplied educator roles and twelve supplied constructs) was administered to a group of 16 experienced professors with teaching awards and 47 new university teachers. Data were collected from faculty at the University of Toronto (a so-called medical/doctoral institution) and faculty from Brock University (a so-called primarily undergraduate institution).
Grid analyses: Each individual grid was analyzed in terms of construct and element extremity (a measure of personal meaningfulness), element distances (a measure of differentiation), and self-other distances (the latter indicates the degree to which the respondents identifies with each of the six roles provided in the grid task). t-tests for independent groups were then conducted for each of these measures.

Findings and conclusions: No differences were found on any of the dependent variables when institution was used as an independent variable. This provided a rationale for combining the data collected from faculty from both institutions and to use level of experience as the independent variable.

Experienced faculty who hold teaching awards were found to rate the various educator roles and constructs in the grid more extremely than new faculty, which suggests that they considered the constructs and educator roles provided in this particular grid task more meaningful and more significant than did new faculty ($p=.05$).

Experienced faculty who hold teaching awards were also found to differentiate between the various educator roles more than new faculty (as indicated by their higher element distance scores), which suggests that their construct system on educator roles is more discriminating than that of their inexperienced colleagues ($p<.05$).

With the exception of one educator role ("challenger") experienced faculty had higher "self-other distance scores" than new faculty, which again suggests that their thinking about these six roles is more differentiated than that of less experienced teachers; however, only two of the values were significant. Less experienced teachers identify more with the researcher role than experienced award winning teachers ($p= .03$) and identify also more with the resource role than experienced teachers ($p< .05$). However, it is interesting to observe that with respect to all the six educator roles both groups seemed to identify the least with the roles of researcher and resource, with researcher being the least preferred role in both groups. Both groups seemed to identify the most with the roles of mentor and challenger. This suggests that the difference between the two groups does not lie in their preference for a particular role but in the degree to which they identify with any one of the six roles. While both groups identify the least with the researcher role, university faculty who are also competent teachers identify with this role much less than inexperienced university faculty.

Future analyses of the data will include calculating and comparing also the construct distance scores in order to identify relationships among constructs and the level of integration of the various constructs as perceived by experienced award winning and inexperienced university teachers. Furthermore, a consensus or group grid will be calculated for each group. Each of the two group grids will be analyzed descriptively using principal component factor analysis (a common practice in analyzing single grids [see Kelly, 1955; Slater, 1964; Puddifoot, 1996]) in order to identify the underlying pattern of relationships among the elements and constructs in the grid.

The two group grids will also be compared by calculating the difference scores for each cell in the grid and calculating the sum of difference scores for each individual element and construct. This descriptive analysis will allow for more detailed examination of the data collected from this particular sample.

What conclusions can be drawn from this study to date? Due to the small sample size for the group of experienced faculty conclusions remain tentative at this point. The intent now is to increase the size of the experienced sample so as to better match the inexperienced sample. However, the results, at present, suggest that while thinking about the role of the educator in terms of the six educator roles used in this grid task is more meaningful for experienced university teachers, experienced university teachers tend to discriminate among these six roles more, and identify less with any one of those roles, than do their inexperienced colleagues. (The only exception where experienced faculty demonstrated a greater level of identification was with respect to the role of "challenger". While this would be an interesting finding, it should be noted that the difference was small and the finding was also not significant.). The finding that experienced university educators identify even less with the researcher role than their less experienced peers is perhaps not surprising: new faculty are expected to research, write and publish in order to be awarded tenure; experienced faculty are tenured and do not have to worry about this as much any more. Furthermore, the fact that they received a teaching award, while not in all cases, may also be indicative of them having chosen teaching rather than research as their career focus. This interpretation is congruent with Baldwin's (1990) finding that while older faculty seem to have a stronger interest in teaching, younger faculty tend to show a stronger interest in research due to the pressures of attaining tenure and promotion. Yet, as the results of this study show, even inexperienced faculty were shown to identify less with the researcher role than with any of the remaining five roles.

In line with the theoretical framework chosen for this study one may argue that as a result of their repeated active engagement with experience (here their university teaching and reflection on their teaching), experienced university teachers have arrived at a construct system of educator roles that is more discriminating , and hence more sophisticated, than those of inexperienced faculty. It may be that as a result of their continuous and active engagement with teaching, and reflection on their teaching, these educators have gradually revised and refined their thinking about educator roles. Should further analyses of the relationships among the constructs in the grid show a significant difference with respect to the degree of integration of the construct system for the two groups (with experienced university teachers showing a higher level of integration), one may argue that, just as scientists change their hypotheses in light of contradictory evidence, these university teachers may have changed their constructs as a result of new experience. Hence, as individual constructs were revised, their whole construct system on educator roles may have gradually moved towards greater discrimination of elements and integration of constructs. We would then perhaps suggest that these university teachers may have experienced a perspective transformation (Mezirow, 1991) with respect to how they think about educator roles. Unfortunately things are not as straight-forward and future data analyses will either support or refute this thesis.

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TEACHING LEADERSHIP: IMPLICATIONS FOR TRANSFORMATIONAL PEDAGOGY
L'ENSEIGNEMENT DU LEADERSHIP: ASPECTS DE LA PEDAGOGIE DE TRANSFORMATION

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The paper reflects on a case study of instructional strategies used in the graduate program in educational leadership (Michigan State University). The current pedagogical practices are used to support the conceptual understanding of the program features as they relate to transformational aspects of adult learning.

L'etude de cas est une reflection sur les strategies d'instruction utilisees dans le programme avance de leadership en education (Michigan State University). Les presentes practiques pedagogiques sont utilisees pour aider a la comprehension des concepts fondamentaux du programme dans leur relations avec les changements intervenant aucours de la formation des adultes.

The purpose of this study is to explore the issues of transformational pedagogy for teaching leadership, particularly for preparation of leaders in education. Defined by Mezirow as "the process of learning through critical self-reflection, which results in the reformulation of a meaning perspective to allow a more inclusive, discriminating, and integrative understanding of one's experience" (Mezirow et al., 1991), transformational learning is challenging as a framework for understanding how adults learn. During the last decade a number of studies provided evidence that, despite the efforts of many universities to develop and improve programs for preparation of educational administrators, the graduates often fail to actually improve the lives of their institutions (McCarthy, et al., 1988; Murphy 1990). The reason seems to lie in the ways that instructional approach relates concepts of educational leadership to students' knowledge and their own experience. It is this problem that shaped the focus of this study. Driven by the interest in the nature of this relation, the study attempts to answer two major questions:

- What are the ways to relate leadership concepts to students' knowledge and experience?
- What pedagogical strategies do instructors employ to enhance transformative learning?

The analysis attempted in this paper can help draw some lessons for creating learning environments that enhance transformational learning of educational leaders. Fostering the ability of a leader to question his/her assumptions and identify appropriate actions to be taken becomes of a particular importance given the requirements of the emerging age with its issues of socio-economic turbulence and diversity.

Method. The study utilized an interpretive approach (Pollard et.al., 1991), attempting to understand actions and meanings in particular contexts and allowing themes and emphases to emerge from the observations and the data. It focused on the pedagogical practices of the two faculty at Michigan State University - Malcolm and Johnston (pseudonyms) - who claim their pedagogical approach as transformational. Three MA-level courses taught by these faculty within the K-12 Educational Administration program were selected: Organizational Theory, Leadership and Organizational Development, and Schools, Families and Communities. These courses seem to be the core of the program to introduce the fundamental concepts of educational leadership. They served in particular as exemplars of how the two professors model the patterns of transformational pedagogy in their instructional approach when teaching leadership.

Data collection included: participant observation; document analysis (syllabi, tentative agenda sheets, handout materials, student works); focused in-depth 1-hour interviews with both of the professors and with four students. By doing interviews, I was hoping to see what philosophical assumptions shape the pedagogical approach of the instructors, how these are perceived by the students, and what kinds of experiences students might have had in the courses. I interviewed the professors and students after the completion of the courses. The course material and instructional approaches were the same for all the students.

The paper is organized according to the themes that emerged among the categories of analysis, as they can reveal understandings of transformational pedagogy in contexts of leadership.

Experiential Learning as a Way of Constructing the Meaning of Leadership

Both instructors use their curriculum in a way that conveys a sense of leadership as a *field of inquiry* in which people find complex relations. For example, in the class on Organizational Theory, the concepts of leadership helped unpack the structural, symbolic, political frames of organization. In other words, the concepts of leadership are used by the professors as a framework to consider the content, subject-matter related issues. These concepts are introduced by means of propositions structured in the form of experiential exercises, selected and ordered by the professors so that certain students' experiences in class were associated with certain concepts of leadership. The students' beliefs about "self" and their understanding of educational leadership are challenged by means of those experiences which involve the probing of new roles, surfacing the conflict, and the use of active forms of imagination such as myth, symbol and drama. To develop understanding about the nature of these challenges , I will particularly draw attention to two peculiar features of the instructional approach employed by both professors.

One characteristic feature of instruction is having the students experience situations which offer roles that are very different from those the students have in their daily lives.

Another characteristic is that the experience of *living through* the situation which incorporates different dilemmas should come *before* the instructor would offer his own interpretation or introduce a particular theory of leadership. As professor Johnston believes, the students need experience of novelty, of ambiguity, even anxiety - under unpredicted circumstances. This experience "involves *doing*," - he says, - "Educational leadership is about *action*.". If educational leadership is about doing, than it has to have a pedagogy, he thinks, that allows students the opportunity *"to do* and *reflect on their actions; in all instances, the real material of the class is as much the experience of the students as it is what their reading is, whatever is being said in the class, paying attention to this experience."*

To reflect on these features of instruction, as well as to support an interactive view on creation of meaning of leadership, I will briefly refer to two cases - one from each instructor's practice.

Case 1: *Symbolic Games or Organizational stories*

When introducing the students to different frames of organizations in the Organizational Theory course, the instructor (professor Malcolm) used an approach which is described in literature as "organizational stories" (Ochs, Smith, & Taylor, 1990). She would not view them as monologues or cultural artifacts but would focus instead on *how* they are told and the meanings, identities, and ideologies that emerge in the process of telling them. The stories can be told both verbally and non-verbally, so that myths and rituals can be created within the space and time of a session.

An example of using the creation of myths and rituals is the "A Close Examination of Culture" session. The idea here was to introduce the content - the concept of the cultural frame of organizations - in ways that make immediate and fundamental sense to the students. Malcolm brought in class the word *Ecotonos* as an analogy for the multicultural nature of a society, "an environment formed by overlapping, adjoining communities" (*Tentative Agenda* sheet). Different groups of students had to understand and reproduce attitudes, beliefs, time orientation, kinesthetic space that were characteristic of exotic communities they were representatives of: Anthiens, Delphinians, Aquilians. While the first represented the nurturing, peacemaking attitudes, the Delphinians resembled a modern American culture which is more individualistic. The last group lived "by examples of our Father" and related to the family ties.

That class was a real drama played by the students in circles. Within their "culture", the participants had to understand the language of artifacts (daily agendas, rituals, tasks), language of time (lived referring to the values of the past while the others might have been oriented into the future), language of space (physical kinesthetic relationships). Representation of this sort, it was thought, aims to push the students to understand organizational culture beneath all the structures of the cultural environment and to present their understanding as a metaphor to the rest of the class in a creative way. Drawing on image that symbolized the culture, the students had *to apply* their metaphor to a concrete task that the professor passed around. It was a case study, *The New Plant Site.* The different "cultural communities" were supposed to determine the best site for the new plant. Time was of the essence in their decisions. Space was another dimension in relationships between the students: There was a certain spatial language within each of the cultures - gestures, distance between the speakers, etc. So part of the story here was exploring how things work in different cultural contexts, and one reason for that, presumably, was to get some perspective on how "to assess the cultural/symbolic tenor of the organizations where students work" (course syllabus). By means of such a game-session, Malcolm was modeling the analysis of the organizational cultural language for the students to understand: What is going on within the "cultural community"? In the assignment sheet, the professor described the purpose for such a class: *"This is a purposeful activity that asks you to employ the chapters of Bolman & Deal, and Morgan to articulate: What we do, How we talk (utilizing specialized language), Reveal the tangible objects, Examine the use of space and time, and Assess the levels and kinds of participation with attention to diversity and forms of leadership."* (Tentative Agenda). This quote shows how the content, the subject matter of the theoretical course - chapters on the organizational frame in the reading books by Bolman & Deal and Morgan, - is explored by means of applying the concepts of leadership as a framework for analysis. This framework has its spatial, temporal, material dimensions which manifest through social interactions between the students and amplify at the interface of individual meaning making process and the social.

While moving back and forth between individual perceptions of the representative culture and the contradictions of instructions given in the assignment cards to different groups, developing a group metaphor and confronting the opposite beliefs from "other" cultures, the students, on one hand, developed novel meanings of *selves: "It* (the group work on Close Examination of Culture) *was good for me because I learned about the lack of my knowledge about myself..."* (Sonya, elementary teacher). *"When you are going to interact with somebody, you can't put your own perceptions on that person. I felt: That's what the professors were trying to get us to click on. I think, a lot of that is coming from my own being a Native American, from my native environment. It's crucial to that learning... I use a lot that we did in class in my work with RAs* (Residence Assistants) *where we have to communicate, to interact, and to listen to everybody..."* (Charley, RA supervisor).

On the other hand, by virtue of creation of "the space of shared boundary" (Briskin 1996), while exploring the organizational culture, the students were also developing novel meanings *between* them : They were not only focusing at any one individual's "compliance-gaining strategies but rather investigated the emerging pattern of (*group*) behavior" and its influence on decision making process (Eisenberg 1990, 142; italics added). All the players of this drama were exposed in a metaphorical way to a controversial situation of, say, a school board meeting, thus illuminating the complex issues of what does it take for teachers to do the best for the kids. This would be an example for a dilemma which may be faced by the students in their real work organizations and which is modeled by the professor in class by means of an experiential activity. This involves much of the participants' imagination that, according to the literature (Dirkx, 1998), amplifies the effect of the experience and the reflection on it. So, another part of the story was that the social consequence of this close-examination-of-culture communicative act was here more important than the original intentions of the game (to play out the cultural roles), because it draws participants' attention to the power of collective efforts to get things done for the benefit of community.

Case 2: *Crossing Comfort Zones*

An example for an experience involving ambiguity can be the session that I observed early in the course on Organizational Theory (professor Johnston). The exercise was used *before* the actual talk about the structural frame of organizations. The whole class was randomly divided in groups, eight students in each, standing in lines so that four kept in file facing the other four of the team. The lines were placed into the rows that were marked by the professors with a colored band on the floor beforehand. One person occupied one "square" on the floor. Each of the members of the group could move forward only; could not go around the person facing same way; could go around one person at a time; and could make one move at time. The task for the groups was to reorder with a minimum of moves from "two to four": from XYXYXYXY to XXXXYYYY. The rules assigned the members of the groups to move along the axis in pairs provided that the vacant spot should be immediately occupied by a peer. Pairs could change their places. Not all of the groups fulfilled the task. Some of them didn't figure out how to do it. Such an exercise was not introduced for completion of a narrow task, but for an experience of such a real-life dilemma like chaos which one may experience when not exactly knowing what he or she is doing for the whole organization, when one is on the grid and has no perspective.

It was a bodily experience, a basic grasp of the classic bureaucratic structural frame of the organization. There was little integration, little opportunity for collaborative decision making ; only the heads of the departments - "the peacocks"- have a better position for an overview. Only after having the students hassling with frustrating, limited attempts to communicate and rigid rules for movement, the professors invited them to debrief as a whole class on what was happening within the activity, what was felt and how it could be explained. One of the interviewed students, Chip, recalls the activity: *" When you are interactive with others, and you are with a group of people, and you are given a goal, that kind of brings to life a real-world effect. You can read about it, but it does not have the same effect until you got actually do it."*

In his concern about how people differ, how they struggle with each other's attitudes when making decisions, Johnston is convinced that *social conflict* and *personal conflict* promote change in the structures of society and in the structures of the psyche. In his understanding, leadership responsibility is not to suppress conflict, but *to surface* it, deal with it, manage it, make it productive.

An arena for surfacing a conflict was, for example, the Bone Game adapted by Johnston from the Indian folk tradition and mentioned by the interviewed students as one of the strongest experience. Many limitations of the game rules (separate location of the groups; communication between the groups only through a representative; following a certain ritual of talk - talking one person at a time, etc.) brought the students to a series of conflicts: in communication, in finding ways for collaborative decision making, in dealing with their own individual assumptions that had been roughly tested. As the interviewees recalled, some students look exasperated, some felt to be pushed by the game rules to feel guilty for every injustice on the earth. One could assume that the instructor's expectation from this experience was that a student would *choose* these feelings and consciously take the focus off him/herself and how *he* or *she* feels in class and place the focus rather on the feelings of those group members who were trying to share their experiences with him/her; in other words, to concentrate more on identifying with the worlds of others. It wasn't easy to do. As Charley described his impression of the experience," *It was a very powerful experience. We were forced really to work together, we had to do this, and there was no way to go around it, no way to hide from that. ... It really forced: in order to come to an agreement, we had to spend a lot of time and a lot of energy at working at it. It was long, it was tedious, but I was really embarrassed some times."*

What happened here reminds me of the situation described by Scott S. (1992) where the people "entered into the action-reaction-reflection process; they became aware of the distortion to their assumptions through the action of those assumptions and reflection through critique" (63). The whole class was so engaged in the activity - in surfacing meaning perspectives which were, in this case, sociolinguistic in nature - that people would, Johnston recalls, forgo their break. At the same time there was a lot of anxiety going on. *"Still"*, says Charley, *" I really wanted to get this experience what this supposed to be. I was getting (at times) into frustration, and, sometimes, anger... But as we proceeded, there was a lot of group cohesion, we were really coming together, I felt pride of accomplishment. My anger and my frustration were worthwhile."*

Reflection as Self-formulation

The descriptions above suggest that one of the main objective of the class for both professors is to provide the opportunity for self-inquiry, self-questioning, self-formulation. *"Do /think / write / discuss"* (Johnston) - this is the logic of their transformative pedagogy. By virtue of participation in a variety of experiential activities that were selected and ordered by the professors in a certain way - so that each activity would be associated with a particular aspect of leadership and expressed in a set of propositions and dilemmas in the public arena, - it was hoped, the students' self interests would broaden and become more inclusive of diversity of the issues related to educational leadership. After the students would have completed any of these games/activities, they would sit down and begin to talk about what those dilemmas were. This way the professors - sometimes through Socratic questioning, sometimes stimulating the students to set questions themselves, - helped the students come face to face with contradictions in the way they deal with their reality, which reveals the necessity of critically analyzing presuppositions through investigating the feelings that the students might have during the games, or thoughts the students might have in response to readings, or video, or tape. During these talks one could find the disjunction with his/her beliefs he/she came in with. By means of having the students debriefing on what they have done in each of the specific experiences the instructors were aiming to force tne students to begin to link that experience to the activities that the students have in their real life, i.e. to hold their attention on contradictions in their beliefs, or *disequilibriums*, as Scott S. (1992) calls it. According to Scott, the disequilibrium evolves within the social action process, "which involves conflict and "shakes up" one's image of who one is and what one thinks (ego functions), enables one... to transform them, and embrace higher collective values." (Scott S., 1992, 58). The professors' next step would be to have that experience linked to summative writing - research around the dilemmas encapsulated in the experience. That is experiential learning.

In the situations described above, the source of the students' frustrations was the way of sending and receiving the messages and their meanings that were spoken out in different languages by the people who had different intentions, feelings and desires. The nature of the processes involved in such activities, in my view, is crucial for understanding how the transformational learning occurs. I think, these are good examples to support an interactive view on meaning.

Theories of social constructions of mind: Directions for research

A large body of contemporary literature refers to Vygotskian perspectives and his socially based theory of mind. According to Vygotsky (1987), construction of meaning of a situation occurs through intersubjective interactions between the people and does not occur in their absence. Another example would be Gergen's "constructionism", a theory that requires a radical reformulation of epistemology because it "challenges the concept of knowledge as mental representation.... From this perspective, knowledge is not something people possess in their heads, but rather, something people *do* together" (Gergen 1985, 270). Relying on the socially constructed meaning perspective, Shotter (1993) argues that "we have neglected in our philosophies the study of a special kind of knowledge... - "joint action" and "knowing from within" (3).

So an interactive view of meaning making directs researchers to study joint practices, the things people *do* together. This aspect of interactional character of communication came into play in the Bone Game, for example. Such view, in my understanding, can explain how action occurs under conditions of limited shared understandings. Where one specific type of experience does not follow the norms of communicative clarity and openness, but, instead, involves minimally disclosive exchanges and may nonetheless be rewarding: the social entity of a group within such situation has something powerful, so that the group members still can gain satisfaction born of acting together. Such situations can arise through coordinated action and balance autonomy and interdependence in organizing. The importance of studying the nature of such processes was addressed by Eisenberg (1990) and referred by him as a phenomenon of *jamming* with analog to improvisational coordinated actions in music and sports. The difficult part, in my view, is that educators may not feel prepared to deal with what might be uncovered in the process of individual and collective critical reflection on psychic assumptions.

Summary

The examination of the interviews, documents, and field notes suggests the following propositions:

1. Reflective writing and experiential exercises that involve kinesthetic relationships and a substantial emphasis on the use of students' imagination are characteristic pedagogical strategies that might foster transformative learning. Experiential activities are selected and ordered by the professors in a certain way - so that each activity would be associated with a particular aspect of leadership and expressed in a set of propositions and dilemmas in the public arena.
2. Social conflict, as an ingredient of transformational pedagogy, invokes critical reflection that occurs in dialogue in a group of students after action facilitates the surfacing of repressed assumptions which become available at students' work.

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Skill and Knowledge Acquisition in the Informal Sector of the West African Economy

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Abstract/*Résumé*

The informal sector in West Africa is increasingly prominent and critical to operation of the region's economies, but little has been written about skill acqusition and human resource development among its members. This study addresses the question on the basis of data from literature review and field study./ *Le secteur informel de l'économie ouest-africaine ne cesse de croître, mais les dynamiques d'acquisition de nouvelles compétences parmi ses membres sont mal appréhendées. L'étude présentée ci-après vise à combler cette lacune par l'analyse de la littérature et des résultats d'une série d'enquêtes sur le terrain.*

Millions of West Africans gain their livelihood through economic activities that are not officially registered or connected with formal avenues of training and finance. Since the mid-1980s it has become common parlance in development circles to refer to this non-licenced but increasingly dynamic part of the economy as the "informal sector." But much of the literature on, and investigation of, the sector begs the question of how workers in these micro-firms acquire and improve the skills and basic knowledge they need in order to manage their enterprises.

This study focuses on skills and knowledge acquisition in the informal sector of West Africa and on patterns of on-the-job training and learning among poorly educated apprentices and owners of small businesses in Chad and Senegal. Its purpose is to contribute to answering key related questions in these poorly-understood but critical areas of West African society.

- What are the knowledge and skill requirements of employment in the informal sector of West African economies?
- How well do current workers in the informal sector master the basic education and skills of their trades? And how do they go about learning what they don't know in order better to meet the demands of a changing marketplace?
- What means are currently used for pre-service and in-service training?
- How might these training systems be improved in order to increase the value of the experience for the workers and the productivity of their firms?

The research was carried out cooperatively under ABEL (Advancing Basic Education and Literacy) funding by African researchers from the countries concerned and faculty and students from Florida State University. The data gathered and analyzed to answer the underlying questions of the study were of three types:

1. Published literature on the African informal sector, its characteristics and the training needs of those involved, mostly researched and analyzed in the United States;
2. "Grey" literature (project reports, program evaluations, agency documents) collected and examined both in the United States and in the participating countries;
3. Brief "confirmatory" field inquiries in Chad and Senegal.

The West African Informal Sector and its Training Needs

Problems of definition

What exactly is the "informal sector"? The notion has some of the disadvantages of any residual category: It is essentially defined by what it is *not* and therefore may include everything from soup to nuts. Sometimes it seems that the only common denominator to the variety of activities lumped at different times in this capacious realm is that they are identifiably *not* modern and *not* directly connected to formal urban institutions.

We prefer a minimalist approach, using "informal sector" as a shorthand term to describe small enterprises that use low-technology modes of production and management (Webster & Fidler, 1996). This definition captures the key characteristics of informal sector enterprises, which are usually small in scale but not necessarily deficient in other ways. It is recognized, however, that the term "informal sector" derives its usefulness according to circumstances which differ from place to place and in time, and besides, practitioners in the field "know an informal sector when they see one".

Issues and controversy

Given its diversity, apparent magnitude and poorly-documented nature, the informal sector has also quite naturally been the subject of animated debate among development planners and researchers. Several of the themes of this ongoing debate provide further relevant background to the consideration of training needs among its members. These themes include the following:

- *The informal sector's role in development: Springboard or dead weight?* Intervention in the sector, through, for example, promoting the startup of new microenterprises, has been used as an effective tool for reducing poverty in many developing countries. Should development thinking revolve around interventions in the informal sector, capitalizing on the way the sector acts as a sponge or safety net for the many workers unable to find jobs in the formal economy?
- *Relation to the State: What are the implications of state support (moral, financial and logistical) for future treatment of the informal sector, including programs for education and training?* In an era where many African nations have been hard hit by adjustment, debt crisis or civil strife, more governments are interested in promoting basic education and technical training for the informal sector and this is even more relevant to governments whose formal sector growth has remained sluggish. Ironically, the state's formal education and training systems are now being asked to intervene in planning for what traditionally occurred in an *un*planned way, i.e., the acquisition of diverse knowledge and skills useful for the informal economy.
- *Viability of the informal sector: Transitory phenomenon or long-term player?* In Chad, it was estimated that the informal sector accounted for 28% of GDP, as well as contributing more than all formal sector activities in the capital of N'Djamena (Panhuys, 1990). A 1988 census showed that micro-enterprises in Dakar, Senegal, and its environs alone employed over 57,000 individuals (Lubell & Zarour, 1990).. It appears that the informal sector is, and will continue to be, one of great importance in the economic development of West Africa.
- *Most critical needs for the sector: Credit or training?* A debate has raged among researchers and development experts as to the most effective intervention from the many factors that are not directly related to education and training, including: low cost credit,

new and improved technologies, and a whole host of factors and conditions that help set the climate for an "enabling environment" for micro-enterprise (McGrath, et. al., 1995).

Working conditions

Given the open and unregulated nature of the informal sector, working conditions are generally characterized by labor mobility. Workers naturally move around within the informal sector itself, as well as into modern sector employment and also in the reverse direction. Average earnings in the informal sector are less than those of the formal sector, but as stressed above, informal sector employment is not necessarily low-income employment.

The West African informal sector is also an important source of income for women, both as workers and entrepreneurs, but they tend to earn less than men and they are concentrated in occupations traditionally seen as women's work. Women's participation in the sector today, while substantial and growing, still appears to be limited, as women are unable to enter some trades because of the usual restrictions on informal sector participants (limited markets, lack of credit, poor quality equipment and materials, etc.) as well as the limitations often found in West Africa on the legal rights of women.

Patterns of skill acquisition

In West Africa, traditional apprenticeship is the most common means of skill acquisition for informal sector workers: "a remarkable blend of work, practical training and moral upbringing, [it] is the main avenue to self-employment in micro-enterprises and thus a cornerstone of informal sector development" (Fluitman, 1992, p. 1). Another study found that 84% of small entrepreneurs in the urban informal sector in Francophone Africa learned their trade through traditional apprenticeship (Bas, 1989, p. 486). Terms of apprenticeships such as cost, duration, physical working conditions, and substance of the training vary significantly among countries and trades.

There are, nonetheless, some common features in traditional, informal sector apprenticeships in West Africa: (Note: "trainee" and "apprentice" are used interchangeably)

- Apprenticeship emphasizes a predominantly hands-on, practical approach to training
- Apprentices learn their craft by first observing and then imitating the master craftsman
- Beginning with simple tasks, apprentices move to complex tasks after mastering basic skills
- Trainees work with a master craftsman for an often unspecified length of time that varies, depending on the situation
- Training is often product-specific; apprentices do not learn the whole spectrum of skills associated with a craft, but rather, discrete steps involved in making a product
- Because many trainees do not learn a craft completely, they are considered semi-skilled at best after completing traditional apprenticeships
- Apprentices receive little or no remuneration (some, in fact, pay fees to the owner-operators), although some do get meals and shelter. (cf. e.g., Muskin, 1997)

The traditional apprenticeship system is a common entry point for informal workers in West Africa. One shortcoming of the system, however, appears to be a lack of consistency and adequate content in the training that apprentices receive. Little attention is paid to delivery of instruction or consideration of learning styles and educational theory in the training of apprentices in West African informal sectors.

Important questions arise: Is the basic instructional strategy employed by master craftsmen (observation, imitation, repetition, repetition, repetition, ... etc.) a purposeful pedagogical choice to emphasize praxis (learning-in-action) over theory? Or is it rather a measure of the owner-operators' inability to provide anything more than practical training -- given the way that they themselves were trained -- and/or the lack of technical mastery in their craft? The evidence points to the latter explanation as the most likely scenario.

Validating Field Studies in Chad and Senegal

Chad and Senegal face many problems typical of Sahelian countries: young populations; high infant mortality rates and low life expectancy; environmental degradation (soil erosion, desertification, etc.); simmering ethnic tensions; unstable economies based on exports and crippled by external debts; high unemployment; emerging and fragile democracies; etc.

In physical area, Chad is the fifth largest country in Africa, the largest among the countries of former French Equatorial Africa, and one of the poorest in the world with an economy that is almost exclusively based on agriculture. Senegal's economy also depends largely on its agriculture. Most Senegalese adults have few opportunities other than farming, and lack of literacy and education further hamper progress.

The Chadian and Senegalese informal sectors are large and growing and play a sizable role in the economies of both countries. It is estimated that 60 percent of Senegal's GDP and 90 percent of the labor force comes from the informal sector (Labat-Anderson, 1990, p. 4).

In these two countries, informal firms are predominantly small and undercapitalized. The sector's poverty is evident in the condition of infrastructure, materials and equipment, as well as in the quality of products and services offered. The field research from Chad shows that most micro-entrepreneurs are poor and have few material possessions. Only 30% of those in urban settings had electricity (Muskin, 1997).

Many workers in the informal economy have correspondingly limited technical ability due to their low levels of education and literacy. Informal sector workers and apprentices in West Africa are likely to be from the marginalized classes; many are dropouts. Apprentices surveyed in Chad constitute a mixed bag in terms of educational attainment. Researchers found that, contrary to what might be expected from a relatively young group of workers, they did not have significantly higher levels of education than owner-operators, and many were dropouts -- perhaps a result of the deterioration of the school system during the Chadian civil war (Muskin, 1997).

The low levels of education, literacy and math achievement point to the conclusion that the technical abilities of individuals in the sector seem limited. About one in four owner-operators surveyed in Chad claimed to have finished primary school, but an equal number had had no formal schooling at all (Muskin, 1997).

In Senegal, a new phenomenon, also present in varying degrees across the region, is very much in evidence. Nongovernmental organizations of various kinds and certain local communities have come to the support of nascent informal sector enterprises to help them upgrade their technology and improve their operations. These enterprises are beginning constitute in effect what might be called an emerging "nonformal sector" of the economy. The support groups take on roles traditionally associated with responsibilities of the state and often act as a safety net to organization members. This includes the provision of training through adult education centers which focus on a particular trade (e.g., the *Centre de Couture* in Thiès, which provides training for girls in sewing and tailoring), health care and health education village savings and banking centers, and the promotion of communal business projects as well as the creation of artisanal cooperatives which facilitate group purchases of materials (Diène & Samba Tine, pp. 24-26).

Several Senegalese studies encapsulate the nature of these enterprises.

- They are typically born out of a shared sense of difficulty in the pursuit of the trade among a significant number of its practitioners.
- These collective enterprises have taken quite a while to build up, though they have both received help of a kind that few independent informal sector operators obtain.

It also seems evident that craftspeople and small business owners organized collectively in this fashion end up either giving greater importance to issues of training, or having more latitude to deal with them, than do their individually-based fellows.

Conclusions

Our findings make it clear that the informal sector remains a large and growing segment of West African economies. The sector is dominated by businesses that are small and undercapitalized. Training in the sector is limited to widespread but tacit apprenticeship, and owners have difficulty "objectifying" their knowledge to systematize transmission to apprentices. Microentrepreneurs recognize training needs much less than credit ones, despite the fact that management of new credit and accountability accentuates knowledge deficits.

An emerging, "nonformal" sector within the informal economy may constitute the most effective entering wedge for new training programs: self-governing networks and associations of informal workers that recognize and address human capital needs.

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NEW APPROACHES TO LIFELONG LEARNING: THREE VIEWS IN RESEARCHING INFORMAL LEARNING

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New Approaches to Lifelong Learning (NALL): A Research Network Report

Education and training involves much more than the organized activities that go on within formal educational institutions. Many observers have noted that informal learning may be the submerged part of the education iceberg in contemporary knowledge-based societies. An international research tradition initiated by our member Allen Tough (1979) has now established that self-directed informal learning projects are indeed very extensive.

In spite of universal recognition of the importance of education and training, we still have very limited understanding of the relations between the participation of people in educational institutions (formal schooling, further education) and their engagement in deliberate informal learning; therefore, we are not effectively linking informal learning with organized education and training programs.

The basic objectives of the NALL research network are to document current relations between informal learning and institutionalized education, to identify major social barriers to integrating informal learning with institutional programs and certification, and to support new program initiatives that promise to overcome these barriers. The combination of researchers and partners brought together in NALL has the potential to make vital contributions to these objectives, and thereby aid Canadians in more fully realizing their learning potential in a rapidly changing society.

The learning profiles documented by NALL should serve as a guide for continuing practical efforts to link organized education and training programs with our people's wealth of informal knowledge for many years to come.

Specifically, NALL focuses on four key research and policy issues:

1. What is the current general extent and character of deliberate informal learning practices in workplace, household and community settings, and how does this informal learning connect with people's engagement in organized educational activities in the same settings and particularly within schools, colleges and universities?

2. How do these types and patterns of informal learning differ among Canadians according to social factors, including prior formal educational attainment, literacy level, social class and employment status, gender, race and ethnicity, citizenship status, knowledge of official languages, and region? Also, how do patterns of informal learning vary across age cohorts, and in particular what is distinctive about relations between informal learning and school-based learning among youths; between

informal learning, skill upgrading and job changes among the active adult labour force; and between informal learning, general interest courses and voluntary activities among retired people?

3. Which approaches have been most effective in respecting the prior informal learning of those social groups who have historically been most excluded from education programs, namely underclass and working class people, women of colour, native people, francophones in minority settings, rural residents, recent immigrants, and the disabled? What types of programs and models of delivery of educational services have been most effective in bridging the gap between organized and informal learning practices, and sustaining equitable educational participation by previously excluded groups?

4. What is the relationship between informal learning and new information technologies, and are there differences in this relationship according to any of the above social factors?

Our network is advancing its objectives through the research and program development activities of six working groups, all of which bring together teams of non-academic partners from diverse sectors with interdisciplinary academics.

- Group One is currently conducting, the first national in-depth survey of informal learning practices in which we hope to establish definitive benchmarks on the extent and character of the deliberate informal learning activities of Canadian adults.

- NALL's Group Two is documenting the current types, extent and use of Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR) by educational, as well as other, institutions.

- Group Three is examining the informal learning cultures of major disadvantaged social groups and exploring some means for more effectively linking these forms of knowledge with institutional education programs.

- NALL's Group Four is examining processes of informal work-related learning in the multiple transitions between organized educational programs and employment throughout the life course.

- Group Five investigates approaches to informal learning in different types of workplaces (paid-and unpaid), organizations, household and community settings. Here we attempt to map relations with organized educational activities in these settings.

- Group Six is analyzing the informal learning networks used by participants in computer-based adult learning programs.

Of the roughly 40 specific projects currently supported by NALL, we summarize three examples here. The first national survey of informal learning practices is intended to provide general profiles for the development of all other NALL projects. Dorothy Smith provides us with a representative piece by an academic member, while Carrozzino, Clifford and Martin provide us with an example of a non-academic partner's attempt to enhance the value of informal learning through Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR).

National Survey of Informal Learning Practices

D.W. Livingstone (OISE/UT)

After conducting a thorough inventory of prior surveys of informal learning practices, we completed a preliminary pilot study. We are now finalizing refinements to the survey instrument as a result of extensive consultation with the Institute for Social Research (ISR) at York University, including further pilots. A final pilot study of 200 cases will be completed during April 1998. The results of this preliminary study will be presented at NALL's Ottawa conference in May, 1998. Feedback will be used to complete final refinements. The national survey of 1,500 respondents will then be conducted during June and early July 1998. The results will be written up and distributed within a few months after the final data set is received from ISR. Several follow-up focus groups will be conducted after the national survey results have been subjected to basic analyses.

The Storage and Transmission of Men's Informal Skills in Working-Class Communities"

D.E. Smith (OISE/UT)

The general interest here is in societal systems for storing and transmitting skills and in the consequences for these communities of changing technologies, and for the society's skills-producing processes, of their virtual disappearance with de-industrialization and/or intensified automation. I am interested also in the significance of informal reproduction of skills through the community for the social construction of masculinity.

We usually identify these systems with the formalized production of knowledge and its transmission through educational institutions. There are, however, important 'informal' storage and transmission systems. This project is to investigate one such informal skills storage and transmission system associated with the great working class communities associated with large scale manufacturing, now deeply eroded in the course of restructuring and relocation associated with globalization. It is argued that such skills storage and transmission devices constituted a significant resource for the mass production enterprises with which they were associated and that the inability of a given industry to sustain a stable working class community over several generations destroys or erodes that resource. This project explores the socially organized relations between informal skills learned by young working-class men, from men of the senior generations. It examines the skills acquired, also informally, on the shopfloor of the industrial production in which both generations were employed.

I am interested in the former dependence of industrial production on systems of storing and transmitting skills that were buried in the informal relationships between stable working-class communities and large-scale industrial enterprises. These systems of storing and transmitting informal skills have been disrupted and virtually wiped out in processes of technological and managerial restructuring which have radically reduced the numbers of workforce in a given industry and hence its ability to sustain a stable working-class community over several generations.

I am using the notion of skills storage and transmission systems to locate the forms of social organization and relations within and outside plants in which such capacities arise or are produced and in which the knowledge or "know how" is stored.

My initial interest is in (a) the informal work of skills training which the senior generation (fathers, uncles, elder brothers) of working-class men have passed on to a younger generation; (b) in the relationship between 'learning' relationships among men in the community and 'learning' relationships on the shop floor; and in (c) how that particular informal training has contributed to the skill available on the industrial shopfloor.

The current phase of this research project is an exploration of existing ethnographic studies of working-class communities and the shop floor of industrial settings to extract accounts of the social processes through which informal skills were acquired.

A Labour Values Statement on Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR):

Sandra Clifford (Ontario Federation of Labour), Gail Carrozzino (Metro Labour Education Centre), D'Arcy Martin (Independent Labour Educator)

The attractions of PLAR to labour educators and other activists are evident. Through PLAR, workers can:

- receive academic credit for learning acquired on the job, through labour organizations, and in community or family work, and for learning acquired outside of Canada;
- take greater control of their own training and development;
- ensure increased portability of skills and credentials, thereby improving the chances of appropriate employment.

At the same time, PLAR could be implemented in arbitrary or discriminatory ways, and unions are watchful of the distance between theory and practice in progressive educational initiatives.

We see five purposes for adult workers to enter a PLAR process:

1. The first is for personal development, to reflect upon past experience and derive from it a sense of skills and knowledge and insight that can help in the future. Often this process improves a worker's self-esteem, uncovers patterns and talents that had been hidden or ignored, strengthens the resolve and clarity needed for future planning.

2. A second purpose is for informal collective development. This may mean participation

in family and community life, in voluntary and social organizations, and in social movements like labour. Recognition here comes from the organizations themselves.

3. A third is for remedying systemic discriminations. This is a priority not only for many immigrant workers but also for workers born in Canada who for medical, social, economic or personal reasons may have been marginalized and forced to leave the education system. The recognition here may in formal credit or in the work world.

4. A fourth purpose is for academic development. This means identifying skills and knowledge acquired outside the formal education system, determining equivalencies with course content and being granted credit or advanced placement in a school, college or university. Recognition of prior learning prevents duplication of learning, saves public and personal expense and allows greater dignity to re-entrants.

5. A fifth purpose is for job-related development. Benefits may include greater employment security, increased income, promotion or other advancement. Here the portability of PLAR-granted certification is a primary concern. This needs to be conducted in such a way as not to adversely affect incumbent workers, nor to violate the hard-won gains of seniority.

These five purposes (personal development, informal collective development, remedying systemic discrimination, academic development and job-related development) can overlap, and many might pursue PLAR for two or more purposes simultaneously.

Some of the most difficult issues emerge, not in the theory of PLAR, but in its practical implementation.

From organized labour's standpoint, PLAR should:

- be voluntary rather than compulsory, particularly in workplace environments;
- be worker-centred and worker-controlled, with union input at all stages of the process;
- encourage collective interaction, and high participation;
- strengthen the public education system, not fragment and undermine it;
- be free of cultural, class and other biases, so that the practice is equitable and the process leads towards a universal right to learn;
- be fully portable, not job-specific or dead-ended;

Despite labour's involvement at the policy level of PLAR, labour has often found that workplace implementation is often employer-led, and not consistent with these principles. Similarly, educational institutions are often biased towards the assessment side of PLAR, rather than the recognition side, with negative consequences for working class students. And governments are all too eager to contribute funds to projects that enhance "competitiveness and flexibility" at the expense of equity and portability. Based on these experiences, labour has become cautious in its support of PLAR initiatives, and increasingly insistent that implementation principles such as those listed above are taken seriously.

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Evaluation of a Human History/Environmental Exhibit Using a Video Tracking Technique

By: Lorne Logan

Abstract:

Canadian national parks are a rich source of informal adult education. An exhibit in Gros Morne National Park was evaluated using a video tracking technique. This paper examines the utility of this technique and the pros and cons of manual versus video tracking.

Résumé:

Les parcs canadiens nationaux sont une source de richesse éducative pour les adultes. Une exhibition à Gros Morne a été évaluée avec une système d'observation vidéo. Cet article examinera l'utilité de cette technique et le pour et contre de l'observation mécanique et non-mécanique.

INTRODUCTION

Canadian national parks are a rich source of informal adult education on environmental topics as well as the human history of areas converted to parks. The premise of this paper is that much invaluable adult education occurs in learning sites which are not often given credit for their contribution. One reason for this is that the learning outcomes are notoriously difficult to document. The exhibit at Lobster Cove Head Lighthouse in Gros Morne National Park interprets the complex history of the human/environmental interrelationships of Western Newfoundland from prehistoric times to the present. In 1990, Parks Canada attempted to evaluate the effectiveness of this exhibit. While evaluating such an exhibit is difficult and normally requires more than one data collection technique (e.g., an exit interview was also applied), this paper focuses on the video tracking aspect of the study. This was an innovative attempt to measure 'first level' exhibit effectiveness (i.e., attracting and holding power and the observed level of involvement with the exhibits). The basic research instruments and the means by which the data were computerized are described and critiqued. The pros and cons of manual versus video tracking (and the ethical concerns raised by both, especially the latter) are also discussed. The paper concludes with some recommendations for future application of the technique.

THE SETTING

Lobster Cove Head Lighthouse is located in Gros Morne National Park, Newfoundland. The lighthouse and its environs are a focal point for the park's interpretive program and the lighthouse itself contains a human history exhibit, opened in 1990, covering prehistoric, European, recent settlement and exploitation of the park area. The exhibit also presents the park's environmental messages. There are 22 exhibits containing a wealth of interpretive information in chronological order with titles such as: living on the edge; new peoples; Europeans arrive; the French Shore; catching lobsters; Canada joins Newfoundland; a national park; protected for all time; and people remember.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

There were two tracking study objectives:

- Assess 'first level' exhibit effectiveness; and
- Develop generic evaluation instruments for future application (with some modification) at Gros Morne and elsewhere.

Stopping and holding power and the observed level of involvement with the exhibits are good first level assessments of exhibit effectiveness (Peart, 1984). Of course, for a more thorough exhibit evaluation, it is advisable to supplement observational techniques with an exit interview (this was done using standard survey techniques and instruments, including open-ended questions regarding respondents' opinions on the most important message conveyed and the exhibits they found most interesting).

METHODOLOGY

Because of the irregular exhibit layout, three cameras were required to track subjects through the entire exhibit. These were standard surveillance cameras feeding into one unit, trained on different areas to observe all exhibits and the entrance to a period light-keepers room and A/V theatre. As the subject moved through the exhibit, the observer manually switched lenses.

Data collection occurred in six-hour time blocks, one per day using a structured observation form consisting of: ID #; day, month, time in/out; time spent; party size; party composition (alone, couple, adults/children, bus tour, other); sex; age category; exhibits/areas visited and order of visit; behaviour (walked past, stopped, read, discussed, touched); crowd conditions (crowded, uncrowded); length of time in seconds at each exhibit; camera behaviour (ignored, glanced, stared); and observer comments. In 36 hours of recording, 86 subjects were tracked. The data were coded and analysed in SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).

Obviously, to varying degrees, the above information is subject to error due to the inherent limitations of the observational technique and the subjective interpretation of the observer. Steps were taken to minimize such error by conducting a pre-test in which two researchers conducted independent observations of the same subjects. Data were compared and found to be reasonably reliable.

A benchmark test using four staff members was conducted to yield an estimate of the time required to stop at each exhibit, view and read the text completely, but fairly quickly. The four total times and time required at each exhibit were averaged to establish the estimated minimum time required to tour the lighthouse. These benchmarks were used in the data analysis as one measure of exhibit effectiveness.

The tracking data allowed us to estimate attracting power, holding power and interaction as defined by Peart (1984):

- **Attracting power** is the number of subjects from the target population who stop and look at an exhibit, expressed in percentages;
- **Holding power** is the ratio of the actual viewing time divided by the required minimum viewing time; and
- **Interaction** is defined as any movement associated with gaining better comprehension of an exhibit - stepping closer, touching, discussion and use of the senses.

RESULTS

The study yielded a considerable amount of quantitative and qualitative data (see Logan, L. D., 1992). Some findings of general interest are:

- Visitors stayed about 16 minutes in the exhibit area, compared to 27 minutes in the lighthouse. It was observed that many visitors used some or all of this additional time to talk to the on-site interpreter, about the exhibit or the park generally;
- The intended chronological order is not being followed, either because an especially appealing exhibit draws people or crowding precludes immediate access to an exhibit;
- Attracting power may be a more reliable measure of exhibit effectiveness than holding power, due to unstructured use of the exhibits and the difficulty of determining actual use of the exhibit (e.g., reading behaviour) through observation;
- Exhibit interaction is very difficult to measure;
- Attracting power ranged from 30 to 93 percent;
- Exhibits appealing to more than one sense had higher attracting powers (e.g., an old telegraphers' key with a red flashing light and accompanying sound and a seal pelt available for touching were very popular); and
- Holding power averaged 20 percent but ranged from ten to 31 percent (higher than most museums which 'capture' people for less than 15 percent of the required viewing time.

PROS AND CONS OF VIDEO VS. MANUAL TRACKING TECHNIQUE

Some strengths of the video tracking technique are:

- It creates a permanent first-level record of complex behaviour;
- It permits more detailed and reflective observation than the manual approach;
- Reliability can be rigorously tested using two or more observers;
- It is potentially less obtrusive than the manual technique (no visible observer to bias visitor behaviour and no visitor interruptions of the observer);
- It can work where manual observation cannot (the converse may also be true);
- The tracking form can be revised and re-tested without further field work; and
- More than one type of tracking form can be applied since the tape can be re-played.

The video technique also has some disadvantages:

- There were more than the usual difficulties getting Statistics Canada's approval to conduct the survey, because the technique creates a visual record of individuals and is subject to privacy legislation. Approval was granted on the condition that a notice be posted advising people that a camera might be operating and that they had the right to have it turned off (nobody actually requested this);
- The requirement to post a notice *may* bias results. However, in the present study, most subjects (62 percent) did not even glance at the cameras and only 12 percent stared at them (this behaviour was recorded on the tracking form in order to assess potential bias);
- The equipment rental cost was about $ 300.00 (1990) per week. If the study had applied a random sample of days over two months in the interests of scientific rigor, the cameras would have been idle most of the time and the cost per record would have been quite high;
- Camera installation was a difficult and time-consuming process. Even with three cameras, some 'blind' spots could not be avoided. Thus, depending upon exhibit layout, it may difficult or impossible to cover all areas; and
- The form is rich in detail but difficult to use. A good rule of thumb is to allow two hours of 'post-recording data collection' for every hour of 'live recording'. It may be possible to develop a more 'user-friendly' form(s) to reduce the data collection time. For example, the items on the form could be superimposed on a floor plan of the exhibit.

CONCLUSION

This is a useful technique if used judiciously for a primarily qualitative assessment of exhibit effectiveness. However, there is a real danger of becoming mired in an instrumentalist, excessively quantitative exercise which assumes that adults visit interpretive sites to absorb as much information as possible - success is then measured in terms of holding power, correct answers to quizzes and information retention. Judged by these criteria, most museums would fail miserably. In the case of Lobster Cove Head

Lighthouse, detailed messages are there for those with a special interest. Beyond this, park staff are concerned with conveying themes related to the Parks Canada mandate in an accessible fashion, in order to reach a wide and diverse audience, including children. In the unstructured environment of Lobster Cove Head Lighthouse, even unaccompanied adults are learning in an atmosphere influenced by the presence of children. The learning site is often hectic and not conducive to quiet reading of interpretive panels - but fortunately, directs people to additional learning resources with a wealth of complementary interpretive information.

The video recording technique raised some ethical concerns, especially by the reviewing/approval agency, Statistics Canada. However, these concerns may be unwarranted, especially since special measures were taken to safeguard individual privacy. Video surveillance is now so common in retail outlets, museums, etc., that it is fair to say most people take it for granted that they may be on 'candid camera'.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

More than most, this study was a collaborative effort between the researcher and park staff, who took great pains to acquire and install video equipment and to contribute to the study design and execution. Special thanks are due to Anne Marceau, Park Interpretive Specialist.

RE-VISIONING PEACE RESEARCH : BEGINNINGS & UNFOLDINGS

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Abstract

Traditionally research begins with a defined problem, purpose, methodology, and often hypothesis. The outcomes, while valuable, are limited by these defined beginnings. In our presentations we will be exploring two participatory action inquiries which began very differently and unfolded uniquely. By trusting the process we ended up with outcomes far beyond what we could have imagined at the beginning.

Résumé

Un projet de reserche comprend d'habitude la définition d'un problème, l'articulation d'un objectif, la description d'une méthodologie et, bien souvent, la formulation d'une hypothèse. Les résultats de recherche, pour valuable qu'ils soient, se trouvent ainsi limités par ces paramètres établis au départ. Dans nos presentations nous nous pencherons sur deux enquêtes concernant descors d'intervention qui débutent d'une facon très differente at se déroulent d'une manière plutôt singulière. La mise en application du processus même donc à des résultats qui dépassent de lon ce que nous aurons imaginer au début.

Introduction

In this symposium we will share stories of the beginnings and unfoldings of two research projects. Anne's project is named Power, Citizenship and Public Hearings: Creating a New Reality and it documents a response made to a federal environmental panel looking at the issue of high level nuclear waste disposal. Geraldine's is named Planting a Seed & Letting Go: Research Unfolding and it tells the story of her experience encouraging an undergraduate student to develop a research project with her peers. While these projects seem, on the surface, to be totally unrelated to each other and to peace, we will challenge this perception. We hope to facilitate the participants seeing not only the connections between our experiences and what links them both to peace, but also discovering connections with their own research and peace research in general. We invite an interactive discussion throughout our symposium.

Our Shared Vision of Reality

We found that the writings of physicist David Bohm (1980) give us a useful context for thinking about our two research projects. Bohm suggests that the universe is composed of an unending series of unfoldings, and in his conception what we commonly experience as real - what our five senses define for us- is only an aspect of reality, which he calls the explicate order. Underlying this explicate reality is a much greater order, the implicate order, where reality exists in potential form. We can perceive this reality only if it moves into the explicate order, but we need to be aware of the infinite potential for ongoing implicate unfolding of reality beyond the explicate. In terms of our research, we need to both see that our work originates in the larger, hidden order, and that the process has an impact beyond what is immediately visible and accessible.

Beginnings

Perhaps the most important aspect of our beginnings, one that we shared, was a sense of trust in the process. We both intuitively and experientially have come to trust that if we create an authentic, engaged and rigorous process in any aspect of our work and/or life, the final outcomes will be authentic. These may not be the outcomes we had hoped for or envisioned; at times we may feel disappointed, at other times the results may be unexpectedly delightful. As well, the value of our outcomes may not be realized immediately. But as Gandhi put it, "The path is the way", and we can trust that the process does have impacts that are of value to ourselves personally and to society.

We need to see our beginnings as aspects of a larger, hidden order, and ourselves as co-creators of the unfolding reality, the better world we are helping to bring into being. By fully appreciating the significance of beginnings, on a conscious level, we can influence outcomes and begin to realize the fullness of our human potential.

The Unfolding

Geraldine's story:

In the fall of 1997 a number of serendipitous events occurred. I was the co-chair of an international conference the Faculty of Nursing was hosting at the University of Toronto. The conference was named Research Utilization: Preparing for the New Millennium and was planned for the spring of 1998. As well, I had a student in my fourth year class whom I had taught previously and knew to be a gifted student. While speaking with Julie privately one day, I spoke about my role on the conference planning committee, and suggested that Julie might want to consider how she and /or other students might develop a small research study which would portray the perspective of students at the conference. The conversation then ended naturally, with no further pressure being placed upon Julie, just an open invitation to consider how much a student voice could contribute to the conference.

I made a commitment to myself not to mention this invitation to Julie again unless she initiated the discussion. I did not wish to impose any pressure upon Julie, as I felt it would be an abuse of my power in our relationship. My vision was that Julie might gather a few interested students, and create a small survey which they could distribute to the fourth year class, and present their findings at the conference. Several months later, as I began to prepare my own abstract submission for the conference, I realized that I had not heard back from Julie. I assumed she had decided not to pursue my invitation and was tempted to mention to her that I wasn't concerned, but I refrained, feeling that this too could be construed as coercive. I was contented that I had at least invited student participation.

Much to my amazement, Julie came to me a few days later and asked if I would review her abstract before she handed it in. I was surprised, delighted, and humbled as I listened to Julie's story of how she had responded to my invitation. Julie's journey had expanded well beyond my simple vision. She had formed a student research team and engaged in what I would name participatory action research, with Julie as the official principle investigator. Julie consulted with the Associate Deans of Education & Research, a senior methodologist, the Dean of the faculty, the undergraduate students at the faculty, and the Canadian University Nursing Student's Association. She garnered financial support , permission to hold focus groups on the topic of research utilization at the national student conference in January, and she challenged the University of Toronto to create new ethical review forms for undergraduate students. I had to acknowledge that having "planted the seed" through my invitation, the best intervention I made was to then "let go". By "planting the seed" I had touched the pure potential that was within Julie bringing it to life. By "letting go" I had refrained from creating any prescriptive boundary, allowing the unfolding of Julie's and the research team's own vision, and the fullness of their human potential to be realized.

Anne's story:

My story is very different. As a member of Canadian Voice of Women for Peace (VOW), I was thrilled to be invited to be Dr. Ursula Franklin's "research assistant" in making VOW's response to a federal environmental panel looking at the issue of the disposal of nuclear waste. Dr. Franklin, for those who don't know her, is a Professor of Metallurgy at the University of Toronto. But while she's widely respected in her chosen scholarly discipline, she is far better known in a broad range of other fields: peace, environmental issues, women's role in science, technology in its social context, and local democracy, to name but a few.

I naïvely expected that being a research assistant would involve going to the library, checking out reference materials and the like, but I was soon to be disabused of this notion. My first instructions were to build a full-scale model of one of the 90,000 containers proposed to bury nuclear waste, a cylindrical structure four feet high and three feet in diameter! In the interesting and hectic months that followed, our "research" was to take us to hardware stores, theatre supply stores, the construction site of the Sheppard subway, and the zoo. Besides the model, we went on to make a set of overheads translating different aspects of the model into images people could identify with. The container's copper shell, for example, weighs the same as a polar bear, the particulate that fills it as much as 240 Toronto telephone books. We also made a chart comparing the depth of the proposed shaft to familiar landmarks like the CN Tower.

But was this research? The real research came later, when we began to reflect on what we had done and the effect that this had had. We had been presented with an option: the government was holding hearings on how to deal with nuclear waste, and we firstly had to decide whether or not to intervene. This is not a trivial or pre-ordained decision, since both options have consequences. Having decided to intervene, even if this risked conferring legitimacy on a process we did not entirely trust, we needed to decide the direction our intervention was to take. We could focus on trying to "out-expert" the experts, bringing in other opinions to counteract the proponent's. This was the technical phase of the hearings, after all, and we do see this approach as both valid and necessary. But we were to choose a different approach, opening up areas that the proponent did not address, thus bringing a sense of "reality" to the hearings.

By participating in the hearings in the way we did, we changed things. The contrast between the computer simulations and graphs and probability formulae the proponents were presenting and the solid physical presence of a large container in the middle of the hearing room was jarring, and indeed it jolted the panel members from the virtual reality world they had become immersed in. It jolted other people as well. One of the most interesting moments in the process was when an engineer from Ontario Hydro, someone who might conceivably build the containers, challenged us on the dimensions we had used, saying they could not possibly be accurate. (They were.) Something shifted in the process when we made our intervention; when all the panelists gathered for an impromptu lecture by Ursula around the model after a grueling day of hearings, we knew we had somehow brought them inside the process. Suddenly they were no longer on the outside looking in.

Reflecting on our own participatory experience, we felt there were insights we had gained and learnings we could share with others. We understood more about how the system functions and its limits and potentials, and we discovered that is possible to become empowered and to present a different version of reality, even within the constraints that exist. We decided that these lessons were worth sharing with others, and a subsequent phase of our project was the production of a video, both to document our story and to enable other community groups to deal with technical hearings.

We also felt that our research was not limited to the particularities of the specific situation. We live in a society in which there appear to be ample opportunities for public input and processes that must be followed before far-reaching decisions are made. The reality, however, is very different. Like organisms adapting to a changing environment, these structures and processes have evolved in such a way that they continue to keep power out of the hands of ordinary citizens. Participatory action research is a way of understanding both what is limiting the process of change toward the kind of world we want and what can facilitate the change.

Reflections on Our Re-visioning of Peace Research

A teacher's experience of inspiring a student to take in a research project. An activist's story of participating in public hearings. What do these have in common, and what do they have to do with peace? These are the questions we'll be exploring in our symposium, but we have a few preliminary comments. Peace requires trust, in ourselves and others, in the process as a whole, in the idea that what we do can and does matter. Peace obliges us to be fully conscious and fully human, and to take responsibility for what we do. It implies being critical and aware, of understanding power relations, and empowering ourselves and others. It implies that change is necessary and possible at both the level of the individual psyche and the level of the universe, and that these levels inform and are enfolded in each other. It also speaks to the ongoing need to balance and re-balance as our universe continues to unfold, from the implicate to the explicate orders. And it demands that we pay attention to our beginnings, as they hold within them the seeds of peace.

We invite you to join us to discuss our experience with peace research and to share your experiences and potentialities in peace research.

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ADULT LEARNING ON THE INTERNET: ISSUES AND EXPERIENCES FROM THE FIELD

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Abstract:
In the first presentation, the author considers individual and group learning in the digital age by focussing on forms of computer technologies presently in use on the internet. He explores ways by which associations, such as CASAE, could adapt these technologies for their future organizational development.

In the second presentation, the author reviews issues regarding intersubjectivity within the distance education environment, describes a pilot project, identifies questions for a preliminary survey, shares some of the responses, and reflects on implications of these initial findings for future research.

Résumé:
Dans la première présentation, l'auteur se penche sur l'apprentissage individuel et en groupe en cette ère informatique en examinant les technologies actuellement offertes sur l'Internet. Il explore les moyens par lesquels des associations comme l'ACÉÉA pourraient adapter ces technologies pour leur expansion future.

Dans la seconde présentation, l'auteur examine la question de l'intersubjectivité dans l'environnement de l'enseignement à distance, décrit un projet-pilote, parle d'un sondage préliminaire effectué auprès d'apprenants, partage quelques-unes des réponses et examine les implications de ces premiers résultats pour la recherche à venir.

Individual and Group Learning in the Digital Age
Presented by William McQueen

Today, it is common for human beings who live their lives thousands of miles apart to foster exchanges of information and wisdom through a variety of computing technologies, including electronic mail and information-based websites on the Internet.

These electronically "connected" individuals, groups of people, and organizations are enabled to create new synergies, and experience collaboration, learning, and enhanced ability to make contributions to their fields of study and for social change. Online personal associations, groupings, and communities are formed on a daily basis. Through these "virtual" associations, participants have been empowered to strengthen local and national communities of interest.[1] Through such online participation, a new meaning has been given to the word *proximity*.[2]

For many years members of electronic discussion groups on the Internet (SIGs) have had the possibility of drawing upon the collective wisdom and gifts of others through their online discussions. Now, computer mediated communication, which incorporates emerging World Wide WEB technologies, not only provides the capacity to *broadcast* the ideas of one to many persons, and the interactivity of *broadcatching* of many persons looking for the ideas of one, but also provides access to the converging technologies of sight and sound. Among others, the use of WEB "search engine" computing technology has enhanced "connectivity". Looking for these connections is based on the matching of free text, related ideas and concepts, and classified sounds and visual materials. People can more and more easily associate, find information, connect with organisations and find persons who have similar or divergent interests in their fields of study.[3]

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[1] William McQueen (1997). *Netizenship*: Building community in cyberspace. In Plumb, D. (ed.) Proceedings of the 16th Annual Conference, Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education. St. John's: Memorial University

[2] Johan Lindstrom (1997). http://www.bahnhof.se/~johanl/newmeaningofproximity.html

How can new communication technology benefit small organizations with members scattered in different institutions and organisations across the country? Traditionally, the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE) publishes a refereed journal and distributes a modest newsletter three times between National Conferences. In addition, regional conferences are organised, and one small CASAE portfolio - the Peace Group - organises in real life and communicates using email. Communication through email ensues among the board members, and the executive holds telephone conference calls each month of the academic year.

Analysis of geographic locations of members showed that there is an opportunity to design new communication strategies using new media information technologies. Can these technologies strengthen the organization and individuals in the pursuit of research in adult education between annual national conferences? An additional question was also considered: Could worldwide WEB technology help increase and advance adult education research in general by serving the needs of learners and professors not already associated with the CASAE? The author believes there is an opportunity to study whether long-term empowerment in a small organisation could be achieved by uses of these technologies. The inquiry would be based on how the convergences of the new technology would bear on perceptions of personal and organizational needs and enhance the dynamic of developing solutions through an online community of interest. Following the direction of the emerging field of Cognitive Technology, the author decided to pursue the path based on the notion that it is necessary, "to redirect progress in the Information Age away from mere advancements in Information Technology ...to study human-tool interaction to increase, primarily, human socio-cognitive awareness and to help people fulfil their cognitive and social needs."[4]

It was decided to begin the process in a stepwise manner by bringing together existing and familiar Internet and computing technologies. It was decided to test and observe how these technologies might lead towards greater interaction of and between members and to observe what barriers may arise to participation through electronic means. Two electronic lists, one for the CASAE executive and another for the electronic distribution of the newsletter, were created on a university Internet server.[5] A basic website, that was written in English and French, introduced and explained the nature and purpose of the organization to site visitors. The site currently includes an invitation for submissions of papers and participation in the current national conference, access to the CASAE-ACÉÉA newsletter, "The Learning Edge-La Fine Point", and a selection of links connecting to other websites of interest to researchers in the field. The site also furnishes a membership form.

Early evaluation of member and public participation indicates a longer time frame will be required to test the assumptions of the inquiry. Vital, empowered and dynamic online "cyber communities" have existed for many years. These communities of interest evolved among persons already familiar with and proficient in existing information software and technology and have developed an enthusiasm to learn future waves of technology. They have seen the power of the technology and are able to integrate and apply it within their fields of exploration."

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[3] Broadcatch™ Technologies (1998). http://www.broadcatch.com

[4] Second International Conference on Cognitive Technology (1997). Humanising the Information Age, First Call for Papers

[5] The ACÉÉA-CASAE website is located at http www oise utoronto ca CASAE

While most CASAE members use computers in their work, and many use email to communicate with learners and colleagues, new media information technologies are not yet well understood by many for its potential for research, connecting and collaborating with others, for social empowerment and for learning. The cause of this derives from the evolving technologies themselves. While creating surges of synergies among users, they continue to change with great speed, often far outpacing a typical user's experience. Herein lies a challenge for CASAE members. Redesigned communication strategies must be developed based on members' current skills, which gradually advance, as new proficiencies are acquired. Using cyber principles of self-help, initially through the interactivity of electronic discussion groups, we can help each other advance these new skills. As we move towards a "wired" century, we can develop a heightened "virtual presence" on the Internet and achieve better connectivity amongst ourselves. Then, as adult educators, we can continue to offer our rich history, traditional leadership in the exploration of human learning and in the power of collective solutions to a wider audience and new generations.

Intersubjectivity in the Virtual Classroom: Expectations and Realities from a Pilot Study in Distance Education

Presented by Bill Fallis

Introduction: Intersubjectivity or exchanges that occur between the learner and the teacher is an important process, particularly in the virtual world of computerized learning. This term is used by Keegan (1986) to focus attention on the relationship between the teacher and the learner in distance education settings. He suggests that successful distance education requires the reintegration of teaching and learning. As he states, "The intersubjectivity of teacher and learner, in which learning from teaching occurs has to be artificially recreated. Over space and time, a distance system seeks to reconstruct the moment in which the teaching-learning interaction occurs" (p.120). Holmberg (1989) also focusses on the relational aspects of teaching when he writes that the core of teaching is (a) the interaction between the teaching and learning parties; and that (b) the emotional involvement in the study and feelings of personal relations between the teaching and learning parties are likely to contribute to learning pleasure. Perraton (1988) adds that feedback is a necessary part of a distance-learning system, and to be effective, distance-teaching materials should ensure that students undertake frequent and regular activities over and above reading, writing or listening. Although they used different terms than Keegan, both Holmberg and Perraton appear to support intersubjectivity within the learning environment. Given the above, then distance education courses that encourage intersubjectivity should provide a more valuable experience for the learners.

Course Description: The author teaches a course on proposal writing that is offered in a post-secondary program at a Canadian community college. He has adapted the course material for the distance education environment, as indicated below.

There are five major folders created for this course which include the following: Main, Modules, Communication, Course Outline and Resources. The Main folder contains a welcome page and a webmap of the course material. The former is the first page all students view when accessing the course and the latter provides a graphic format to view and access the content areas. The Module folder contains a file for each of the seven learning modules. Each file begins with a list of objectives followed by content related to the objectives, and exercises related to the content. For all of the exercises, students email their responses to the author for feedback. Within the Module

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[9] Project EASI (Equal Access to Software and Information) is a good example where the expansion of the field of accessible information technology and accessibility technologists grew into a large online community of almost a thousand "netizens" over a period of seven years. (http://www.isc.rit.edu/~easi/index.html)

folder is a file of terms and their definitions. The first time a term is used within a module, there is a hyperlink to the file of terms. The Communication folder contains a list of names and email addresses of participants in the course. Students are encouraged to contact each other and discuss the content and the exercises. The Resource folder contains a list of granting agencies within the Canadian Federal, Ontario Provincial and Toronto Municipal governments, as well as granting agencies within the Non-Governmental Organization sector. The Course Outline provides basic information on the course, including the objectives, and a marking scheme for the modules. Students in the second year of a two year post secondary program, who had not completed this course the previous year, were invited to participate in this pilot study. They would be graded, but would not be charged fees. Once registered, students were given the URL for the welcome page within the Main folder. Four students registered for the course by the end of February, 1998. One student had completed the first set of exercises by the middle of March.

In an attempt to increase the level of intersubjectivity, the author phoned the students and invited them to attend a session on the course at the college. Three of the four participants came to this mid-March session. The fourth student, who had submitted exercises, was not able to attend. At the meeting, the course design was discussed. A timetable for completing the assignments was drafted and accepted.

Questions and Results: During the month of April, 1998, three of the four students were reached by telephone and asked five questions. These question and the responses are summarized below.

Question 1: What are the major differences between this course and other courses of your program at the college?
The responses indicated that it was different from a typical course, as some felt disconnected because there was little one-to-one exchanges. The independent set-up with no attendance, the lack of firm deadlines, and knowing it is a pilot project and on the internet, gave the course a laid back, and laxed feeling. Assignments for other courses were perceived to be more pressing and were given higher priority. For these other courses, there were scheduled classes, in which the instructor and students could reinforce the perception of importance of assignments. One respondent suggested that this course required students who are "independently motivating", as you have to motivate yourself.

Question 2: When you have found a section hard to understand in the module material, what have you done?
The responses suggested that trying on one's own, by reading and rereading the notes and thinking about them, was helpful. Checking with other students was suggested only if those students were at the same level. It was difficult while waiting to hear back from the instructor. One respondent did not find the notes hard to understand, but felt that the main activity was reading the material and applying it to one's own situation. Another respondent knew she could phone the instructor, if she had questions.

Question 3: What have you found helpful in learning the course material?
One respondent found it reassuring to know that the material was on the internet, as she liked going over the pages. Others thought the layout made sense and the course was well organized and straightforward.

Question 4: What have you found not helpful in learning the course material?
Even though one respondent liked the independence, she also would have liked the opportunity to work with someone else on the assignments. Another respondent realized that she had to read all of the material before she could do the exercise, and this took too much time. This same person also realized that if she had a question, she could not get answers right away. In class, she would get immediate replies to her concerns. A third respondent could not identify anything unhelpful, but

felt that some other students might be concerned with the course, because they may think they will not have as much access to the instructor.

Question 5: What changes would you make to this course offering?
One respondent found the course clear. Two others thought a submission time frame for assignments should be set and enforced with consequences. Even though one respondent found the lack of one to one activity a problem, she thought this course was better than her past experiences with correspondence courses, where one does not have the instructor to talk to from time to time.

Conclusions: Although the author has attempted to recreate some elements of a normal class environment (holding the non-virtual information session, calling the students and encouraging their feedback), it would appear from the comments that more attention to intersubjectivity is required.

When analyzing the learning episode, the author suggests that there are the following sequences for the (a) non-virtual and (b) virtual courses:
(a) the objectives are stated at the beginning of the class --> the main concepts are explained by verbal, written and/or audio-video means --> further clarification is provided if there are questions or concerns --> examples are provided to reinforce the concepts --> students are asked to complete an exercise on the concept --> once the exercises are sent to the instructor, feedback is given and further clarification is provided; and
(b) the objectives are stated at the beginning of the module --> the main concepts are explained by written means with the use of hyperlinks to other files --> examples are provided to reinforce the concepts --> students are asked to complete an exercise on the concept --> once the exercises are sent to the instructor, feedback is given and clarification is provided.

Students in the non-virtual classroom have an opportunity to interact with the instructor earlier in the learning episode, while the students in the virtual course seem more likely to receive their clarification at the end of the process. If a student is confused in the virtual course, then they are likely to receive feedback, only when an assignment is corrected. This is feedback that would be most helpful at an earlier point in the sequence. It should be noted that the author did encourage students to send him email messages, whenever they had questions. However, few questions were received before the exercises were submitted. Requests for student-instructor and student-student feedback could be built into the future design of the course.

The author would concur with Keegan, Holmberg and others regarding the importance of intersubjectivity, or the exchanges between the learner and the instructor for all forms of courses. Also, there appears to be the need for feedback at shorter intervals and earlier in the learning episode. As a result of this preliminary study, the author plans to revise the course and survey a larger number of students.

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Adult Education and Educational Reform in Latvia.

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Recent initiatives in the development of Adult Education policy in Latvia.

Latvia had a strong tradition of Adult Education before WWll and has made considerable strides towards reestablishing that tradition since the regaining of Independence in the wake of the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991.
A graduate level training program for Adult educators was launched by the Faculty of Education and Psychology at the University of Latvia in 1996 under the chairmanship of Dr D. Bluma, a leading figure in Adult Education in Latvia.
There is currently a strong movement towards the establishment of an Adult Education Act that would provide for the financing and certification of a wide range of Adult Education programs throughout Latvia.

In October 1997 a conference on "Adult Education - a key to the 21st century" was sponsored by the Ministry of Education and Culture to bring together representatives of government and non governmental organizations, the Free Trade Union Association, and the Adult Education Association to promote cooperation among various interested parties in the promotion of Adult Education in post Soviet Latvia.
The aims of the conference were to:
1. identify the role of Adult Education for Latvia's social development.
2. evaluate the Adult Education needs in different areas of specialization.
3. set priorities and develop strategies to promote the development of Adult Education.

A proposal for an Adult Education Act for the Republic of Latvia was submitted for discussion. The proposed Act covers a broad range of Adult Education provisions to serve the needs of the state, society, and the individual needs of the peoples of Latvia. These programs would be accessible to all individuals above 18 years of age outside the formal education structure, and would strive to meet the personal aspirations and needs of individuals regardless of age and previous educational level.

The proposal endorses the provision of Adult Education programs to meet educational needs at the primary, secondary, and post secondary levels, as well as provide opportunities for professional development and upgrading in various areas of specialization.. Programs would be available on a full-time, part-time, and distance education basis. Special programs would meet cultural, social, ecological, and health education interests; literacy programs would extend language and communication skill development; and programs related to folk arts and wisdom would enable the rediscovery of ancient traditions, beliefs, and practices in areas related to work, community and personal life.

The stated aims of Adult Education are:
1. to provide opportunities to meet individual interests and needs.
2. to compensate for previous educational gaps, and to upgrade knowlege and skills to keep up with social and technological changes in the post Soviet era.
3. to facilitate social adaptation and integration in the newly forming democratic society.
4. to help with the implementation of theory into practice in various areas of endeavour.
5. to facilitate the acquisition of Latvia's official language by all inhabitants of various ethnic backgrounds, and to promote the learning of foreign languages to enhance communication with neighbouring European countries.

The Act would provide for a state regulated Adult Education system to meet Latvia's economic and social development needs. The Ministry of Education and Science would provide for and regulate the preparation of Adult Education specialists, coordinate the programs, set the licensing requirements, and disseminate information about program development, availability, curriculum, staffing, and financing.

Local governments would be responsible for the organization of regional Adult Education centers to meet the specific needs of particular regions. Programs would be organized locally to provide access to all participants, including the elderly, the handicapped, and the economically disadvantaged, and focus on the needs of specific groups of learners such as the unemployed, retirees, youth, women, and families.

Employers would participate in cost sharing and would be responsible to provide professional development opportunities to their employees of a minimum of 72 hours every five years. The programs would be provided by licensed adult educators in accredited government and non government institutions, and by social organizations and cultural institutions such as libraries, museums, and local cultural centers. Participants would be free to apply to the institution of their choice, and to receive financial assistance and certification for completion provided they comply with the program requirements in a responsible manner.

Collaborative projects supporting Educational Program Development and Institutional Reform.

Initiatives for education reform in post Soviet countries have been strongly supported through foreign governmental and non governmental financial assistance for collaborative and joint research and development ventures with European and North American education institutions. The education training institutions in Latvia, and the Faculty of Education and Psychology of the University of Latvia have been involved in a number of collaborative ventures in the areas of teacher pre-service and continuing education planning, curriculum development, and democratization of educational leadership and administrative practices. Several of these projects have been carried out in collaboration with Universities in Sweden, Denmark and the United Kingdom. Since 1992, Dainuvite Bluma (1997), currently chair of the Adult Education department at the Faculty of Education and Psychology at the University of Latvia has coordinated several internationally funded projects involving outside consultants from several countries, including Nordic Baltic projects and the TEMPUS project for teacher education and professional development which have led to the development of teacher training programs, course curricula and teaching materials, and guidelines for teaching approaches based on Adult Education principles. These projects have had a significant impact on Latvia's teacher training institutions by engaging their top level administrators in an ongoing process of collaborative planning and program development. Oskars Zids coordinated a joint Nordic Baltic project on School administrative practices in education for a democratic society. This project was aimed at sharing experiences in implementing democratic leadership practices, promoting cooperation among educational administrators, and developing guidelines for leadership training of educational administrators. The latest cooperative project on School Development sponsored by Latvia's and Denmark's Ministries of Education, is aimed at supporting educational innovation by providing training for education development consultants, and establishing an administrative council to guide and support educational development and innovation at all levels.

Solveiga Miezitis has been consulting since 1990 with the Faculty of Education and Psychology at the University of Latvia on undergraduate and graduate program development in psychology. She has been closely involved with the development of the bachelor and master's level psychology programs at the University of Latvia. She began to collaborate with the dean of the Faculty of Education, Oskars Zids and helped to network with visiting psychologists from the West, as well as with the few practicing professional psychologists in Latvia to start expanding and transforming the preservice teacher training program in pedagogy and psychology of the Faculty of Education into the first bachelor of Psychology program in Latvia since the closing of the psychology program by the post World War II Soviet government. With the help of a generous grant of $ 110,000 from Canada's Department of External Affairs (1993-95) we were able to develop Master's level programs in the newly established Psychology Department in the Faculty of Education and Psychology. The grant financed exchange visits between colleagues from OISE and the Faculty of Education at the University of Latvia. Colleagues from Latvia had the opportunity to observe different approaches to professional practice in educational and clinical settings and audit courses in Applied Psychology at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Visiting professors from Canada provided instructional help in the new Master's programs in School and in Clinical Psychology, the areas of greatest professional need in newly Independent Latvia. We were also able to finance computers and introduce graduate students to the use of computer technology in research. Finally, we contributed to the installation of Internet hook ups for the Department of Psychology and established on-going cooperative links with students and faculty.

The psychology programs of the Faculty of Education and Psychology have been accredited by the University of Latvia and serve as Western models for training in professional psychology, a discipline for which there is a high market demand currently being met by a variety of newly formed publicly and privately funded programs that have sprung up all across Latvia. We are currently in the process of seeking accreditation for a doctoral program based on internationally accepted criteria for professional training in psychology, but are meeting resistance to this proposal because it challenges the established practice of doctoral training based on a dissertation and comprehensive examinations as the sole requirements for a doctorate. Although we have the support in principle from the newly elected vice president for science at the University of Latvia, it will be interesting to see whether the proposal will pass the scrutiny of the senate committee. Reform is a slow and painful process and it may take another generation of faculty who have established a working relationship with colleagues abroad for fundamental reform in doctoral training to be accepted and implemented.

Meanwhile, it is clear that the Faculty of Education and Psychology at the University of Latvia has already adapted many ideas from the West in its programs and is providing a strong base for initiating future educational changes through its education and psychology programs.

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EDUCATION FOR PLANETARY CONSCIOUSNESS: RESISTANCE EDUCATION AND ALTERNATIVE VISION

Edmund O'Sullivan

The fundamental educational task of our times is to make the choice for a sustainable planetary habitat of interdependent life forms over and against the dysfunctional calling of the global competitive marketplace. This work shares a point of view of a rising tide with people and communities all over this globe.[1] This emergent vision of life deeply challenges the economic globalization that is moving like a tornado in our world as we approach the new century: In assessing the modern worlds 'Ecological Footprint,' Wackernagel and Rees make the following observation about the forces of globalization:

> It seems that, in today's world, urbanization, globalization and trade combine to reduce corrective feedback on local populations. With access to global resources, urban populations everywhere are seemingly immune to the consequences of locally unsustainable land and resource managememt practices - at least for a few decades. In effect, modernization alienates us spatially and psychologically from the land. The citizens of the industrial world suffer from a collective ecological blindness that reduces their collective sense of "connectedness" to the ecosystems that sustaining them. [2]

This choice for what I would label an ecozoic vision can also be called a *transformative* perspective because it posits a radical restructuring of all current educational directions. To move toward a planetary education, it will be necessary to have a functional cosmology that is in line with the vision of where this education will be leading us. We are at another vast turning point and we are in need of a cosmological story that can carry the weight of a planetary consciousness to where we know must move. We are now living in a watershed period comparable to the major shift that took place from the medieval into the modern world. Drawing from the work of Thomas Berry, I refer this postmodern period as the ecozoic period. The educational framework appropriate for this movement must be visionary and transformative and clearly must go beyond our conventional educational outlooks that we have cultivated for the last several centuries.

A full planetary consciousness opens us up into the awesome vision of a world that energizes our imagination well beyond a market place vision. Our planet is a shared dream experience. This is a final aspect of our ideas on ethical imperatives. There is much discussion of the evolutionary process and the direction of its unfolding. There is a groping aspect to this process which is neither random nor directed but creative.[3] The creative process, whether in the human or the cosmological order, is too mysterious for easy explanation. Yet we all have experience of creative activity. Since human processes involve much trial and error with only occasional success at any high level of distinction, we may well believe that the cosmological process has also passed through untold billions of experiments in achieving the ordered processes of our present universe. In both instances something is perceived in a dim and uncertain manner, something radiant with meaning which draws us on to a further clarification of our understanding and our activity. Suddenly out of a formless condition a formed reality appears. This process can be described in many ways, as a groping or as a feeling or imaginative process. Yet one of the most appropriate ways of describing this process seems to be that of dream realization. Thomas Berry reflecting on his own awe of the universe is struck by what seems to be the fulfilment of something so highly imaginative and so overwhelming that he ventures that it must have been dreamed into existence.[4] I caution the reader at the outset not to equate my use of the word *dream* as indicative of 'the unreal' or simply 'the symbolic' or a process of the 'unconscious mind.' I have been drawn to thephrase *the dream drives the action,* after many conversations with the cultural historian and ecologist,Thomas Berry. In many talk that we had together, he was trying to develop the notion that we are not motivated and energized at the level of ideas but by the deeper recesses of dream structures. Few things are accomplished in human affairs except under the type of entrancement that can be associated with dream experience. The christian dream created our western civilization in its medieval period. The great cultures of the world emerge not out of rational processes but out of revelatory experiences that occur in dreams or which have many of the qualities of dream experience. Only in this condition, it seems, do the more profound spontaneities of our pre-conscious genetic coding emerge in their full power and splendor.

But if the dream is creative we must also recognize that few things are so destructive as a dream or entrancement that has lost the integrity of its meaning and entered onto exaggerated and destructive manifestation. This has happened often enough with political ideologies and with religious visionaries, but there is no dream or entrancement in the history of the earth that has wrought the destruction that is taking place in the entrancement with industrial civilization. Such entrancement must be considered as a profound cultural pathology. It can be dealt with only in terms of a corresponding deep cultural therapy.

Such is our present situation. We are involved not simply with an ethical issue but with a disturbance sanctioned by the very structures of the culture itself in its present phase. The governing dream of the twentieth century appears as a kind of ultimate manifestation of that deep inner rage of western society against its earthly condition as a vital member of the life community. As with the goose that laid the golden egg, so the earth is assaulted in a vain effort to possess not simply the magnificent fruits of the earth but the power itself whereby these splendors have emerged. At such a moment a new revelatory experience is needed, an experience wherein human consciousness awakens to the grandeur and sacred quality of the earth process. This awakening is our human participation in the dream of the earth, the dream that is carried in its integrity not in any of earth's cultural expressions but in the depths of our genetic coding. Therein the earth functions at a depth beyond our capacity for active thought. We can only be sensitized to what is being revealed to us. Such participation in the dream of the earth we probably have not had since earlier shamanic times; but therein lies our hope for the future for ourselves and for the entire earth community.5

Contemporary education lacks a comprehensive cosmology. This is one of the central ideas id this piece. When education has drawn from the sciences, its attention has been directed to the social sciences as distinguished from the natural sciences. In most cases, educational theory and practice has borrowed from the sciences of psychology, sociology and to a lesser extent anthropology. What is totally lacking in modern educational theory is a comprehensive and integrated perspective that has in the past been identified as a cosmology. Thus, contemporary educational theory and practice carry with it the same blinders that have plagued modern scientific specialization coming out of the post-Newtonian period. To be sure, modern western educational thought has attempted to identify itself with humanism, but it has done so without providing a renewal of an acceptable cosmology. What we are working toward in this book is an articulation and presentation of a cosmology that can be functionally effective in providing a basis for an educational program that would engender an ecologically sustainable vision of society in the broadest terms; what can be called a planetary vision. It is a vision that is painfully absent in our present circumstance. In his incredible work, *The Spell of the Sensuous*, David Abram draws our attention to this vacuum of vision:

> Clearly, something is terribly missing, some essential ingredient has been neglected , some necessary aspect of life has been dangerously overlooked, set aside, or simply forgotten in the rush toward a common world. In order to obtain the astonishing and unifying image of the whole earth whirling in the darkness of space, humans , it would seem, have had to relinquish something just as valuable-the humility and grace that comes from being fully a part of that whirling world. We have forgotten the poise that comes from living in storied relation and reciprocity with the myriad things, the myriad *beings*, that perceptually surround us..If we do not soon remember ourselves to our sensuous surroundings, if we do not reclaim our

> solidarity with the other sensibilities that inhabit and constitute those surroundings, then the cost of our human communality may be our common extinction.[6]

The reader should be appraised from the outset of my understanding of the notion of transformation vision which appears in the sub-title of this work. I will start with the notion of transformation within a broad cultural context.

When any cultural manifestation is in its fluorescence, the educational and learning tasks are uncontested and the culture is of one mind about what is ultimately important. There is, during these periods, a kind of optimism and verve that ours is the best of all possible worlds and we should continue what we are doing. It is also usual to have a clear sense of purpose about what education and learning should be. There is also a predominant feeling that we should continue in the same direction that has taken us to this point. Here one can say that a culture is in 'full form' and the form of the culture warrants 'continuity.' We might say that a context that has this clear sense of purpose or direction is 'formatively appropriate.' A culture is 'formatively appropriate, ' when it attempts to replicate itself within this context and the educational and learning institutions are in synchronicity the dominant cultural themes.

Even when a culture is 'formatively appropriate', there are times when there seems to be a loss of purpose or a loss of the qualities and features that appear to have given that particular culture it's fluorescence. Part of the public discourse, during times such as these, is one of 'reform criticism'. Reform criticism is a language that calls a culture to task for its loss of purpose. It is a criticism that calls itself back to its original heritage. This is a criticism that accepts the underlying heritage of the culture and seeks to put the culture, as it were, 'back on track.' When reform criticism is directed toward educational institutions we call this 'educational reform.'

There is another type of criticism that is radically different from 'reform criticism' which calls into question the fundamental mythos of the dominant cultural form and indicates that the culture can no longer viably maintain it's continuity and vision. This criticism maintains that the culture is no longer 'formatively appropriate' and in the application of this criticism there is a questioning of all of the dominant cultures educational visions of continuity. We refer to this type of criticism as 'transformative criticism.' In contrast to 'reformative criticism', this 'transformative criticism' suggests a radical restructuring of the dominant culture and a fundamental rupture with the past. I would suggest that 'transformative criticism' has three simultaneous moments. The first moment I have already described as the critique of the dominant cultures 'formative appropriateness'. The second is a vision of what an alternative to the dominant form might look like. The third moment is some concrete indications of the ways a culture could abandon those aspects of its present forms that are 'functionally inappropriate' while, at the same time, pointing to some directions of how it can be part of a process of change that will create a new cultural form that is more'functionally appropriate.'

I would say that all of the moments above, in their totality, can be called a 'transformative moment.' It is a historical moment of moving between visions. It is not the case that historical moments and their labeling go uncontested. Many would say that we are not at a transitional moment in our present historical situation as I am maintaining. Truly, we seem to be living in a time of ferment. For example, there is incredible cultural hyperactivity directing us toward the 'global competitive market place.' Both in Canada and the United States we have witnessed this in the decade of the 1980. Now in the 1990's the educational systems in our Northern hemisphere have been the object of educational reform that is, in essence, a massively conservative endeavor. Aronowitz and Giroux give us a graphic summation of this moment in their description of education in a U.S. context:

During these years, the meaning and purpose of schooling at all levels of education were refashioned around the principles of the marketplace and the logic of rampant individualism. Ideologically, this meant abstracting schools from the language of democracy and equity while simultaneously organizing educational reform around the discourse of choice, reprivatization, and individual competition.7

In this most recent version of 'conservative reform,' there is little questioning of the 'functional appropriateness' of the dominant vision of the global marketplace in virtually any of its aspects. When there is criticism within these quarters, it is a criticism that is completely at home with the dominant cultural form that seeks a further extension of what has been in place since the beginning of the twentieth century.the dominance of the market. The educational reform suggested in this venue continue to encourage us to tool up our educational institutions from the nation state market to the transnational marketplace.

To embark upon a discussion of a transformative vision of education, it must be kept clearly in mind that it will involve a diversity of elements and movements in contemporary education. At this point in our treatment I will try to indicate some of the contemporary educational currents that must be part of an emergent vision of transformative-ecozoic education. Since we are in a transitional period, in which there are many contesting viewpoints, the reader should be appraised that some of the elements that are emerging into what I am calling a transformative vision. To some extent these trends are operating somewhat separate and independent of one another. What I would like to do here is to name some of those elements because I think they will form part of a weave of a new type of integral education that will contest the vision of education for the global market place. What is important, at this point in our treatment, is to name some of those elements that are potentially moving toward a more integral transformative vision. I would then like to couch these elements within a broad cosmological framework which I believe will be my major contribution to the effort of offering an alternative to our present conventions in education.8

What we are now coming to understand is that we are living in a period of the Earth's history that is incredibly turbulent and in an epoch in which there are violent processes of change that challenge us at every level imaginable. The responsibility of the human today is that humans are totally caught up in this incredible transformation and we have a most significant responsibility on the direction it will take. The terror here is that we have it within our power to make life extinct on this planet. Because of the magnitude of this responsibility for the planet, all our educational ventures must finally be judged within this order of magnitude. This is the challenge for all areas of education. For education, this realization is the bottom line. What do I mean here by bottom line? For me, the bottom line is that every educational endeavor must keep in mind the magnitude of our present moment when setting educational priorities. This demands a kind of attentiveness to our present planetary situation that does not go into slumber or denial. This poses momentous challenges to educators in areas heretofore un-imagined. Education within the context of 'transformative vision' keeps concerns for the planet always at the forefront.

The wisdom of all our current educational ventures in the late twentieth century serves the needs of our present dysfunctional industrial system. Our present educational institutions which are in line with and feeding into industrialism, nationalism, competitive transnationalism, individualism and patriarchy must be fundamentally put into question. All of these elements together coalesce into a world-view that exacerbates the crisis that we are now facing. There is no creativity here because there is no viewpoint or consciousness which sees the need of new directions. It is a very strong indictment to say that our conventional educational institutions are defunct and bereft of understanding in responding to our present planetary crisis. In addition, a strong case can be made that our received educational wisdom suffers from what I identify as the "loss of the cosmological sense". Somehow this cosmological sense is lost or downgraded in our educational discourse. In truth, something was gained and we are now just coming to understand that something was lost. We are not here talking about shallow changes in fashion. We are talking about a major revolution in our view of the world that came with the paradigm of modernism.

A second consideration that I wish to bring before the reader a certain mindfulness concerning my location as an author. By the worlds standards I am located in 'lap of privilege.' My treatment will have the necessary limitations that the present author brings to the interpretation, that is that I am white, western, male and as of late a downwardly mobile member of the North American middle-class. These have been my historical horizons of interpretation but my own location within them has been self critical and self conscious. Nevertheless, 'caveat emptor.' My treatment will also interpret these structures of race, class and gender within the context of ecological concerns. A relevant quote from Susan Griffin will give the reader some anticipation of the overall sense of this location of privilege:

> The awareness grows that something is terribly wrong with the practices of European culture that have led both to human suffering and environmental disaster. Patterns of destruction which are neither random or accidental have arisen from a consciousness that fragments existence. The problem is philosophical. Not the dry, seemingly irrelevant, obscure or academic subject known by the name of philosophy. But philosophy as a structure of the mind that shapes all our days, all our perceptions. Within this particular culture to which I was born, a European culture transplanted to North America, and which has grown into an oddly ephemeral kind of giant, an electronic behemoth, busily feeding on the world, the prevailing habit of mind for over two thousand years, is to consider human existence and above all human consciousness and spirit as independent from and above nature, still dominates the public imagination, even now withering the very source of our own sustenance. And although the shape of social systems, or the shape of gender, the fear of homosexuality, the argument for abortion, or what Edward Said calls the hierarchies of race, the prevalence of violence, the idea of technological progress, the problem of failing economies have been understood separately from the ecological issues, they are all part of the same philosophical attitude which presently threatens the survival of life on earth.[9]

In conclusion, I would like the reader to understand that globalization is not our inevitable fate. We need to resist this direction and broaden our vision. There is a planet at stake.

Endnotes

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[1] Mander,Jerry, Goldsmith, Edward, The Case Against the Global Economy, (San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1996).

[2] Wackernagel, M, Rees, W, Our Ecological Footprint: Reducing Human Impact on the Earth. (Gabriola Island, B.C.: New Society Publishers, 1996:132).

[3] Dobzhansky, Theodosius, The Biology of Ultimate Concern, (New York: Meridian, 1969).

[5] Berry, Thomas, The Dream of the Earth (San Francisco.: Sierra Club, 1988).

[6] Abram, David, The Spell of the Sensuous, (New York: Vintage Books, 1996: p.270-271).

7.Aronowitz, Stanley and Giroux, Henry, Education Still Under Siege (Toronto: OISE Press, 1993), p.1.

[8] As this work goes to press, I have come across the work of Donald W. Oliver and Kathleen Waldron Gershman which offers a very interesting cosmological perspective inspired by the proceess philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead. Although my entry point is different from theirs, they are nevertheless moving in the same direction that I am suggesting here. Let a thousand cosmological flowers grow. See D. Oliver and K. Waldron Gershman, Education, Modernity and Fractured Meaning: Toward a Process Theory of Teaching and Learning, State University of New York Press, Albany New York, 1989.

[9] Griffin, Susan, The Eros of Everyday Life (New York: Doubleday, 1995). p.29.

TECHNOLOGY -BASED DISTANCE DELIVERY: THE LEARNERS' PERSPECTIVES

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Abstract
Dans les deux études de cas, j'ai mis l'accent sur la réponse de l'apprenant à un cours spécifique. En utilisant un questionnaire et les données d'une entrevue, je décris ce que les étudiants en formation professionnelle pensent de l'accès, de l'interaction et de la technologie. En utilisant les données d'une entrevue, je brosse un tableau de la perception, à la fois d'encouragement et d'intimidation, qu'une femme a face à l'interaction avec ses collègues d'université.

In two case studies, I focus on the learners' response to a particular course. Using questionnaire and interview data, I describe what trades students say about access, interaction, and technology. Using interview data, I sketch how one woman finds both encouragement and intimidation in her interaction with university classmates.

The Office of Learning Technologies is funding the *Learning Through New Technologies The Response of Adult Learner* Project. The research interest is in how adult learners' respond to the many facets of course delivery, especially technology-based distance delivery. The project consists of twenty exploratory case studies. In each case, we use questionnaires, interviews, document analysis, and/or observations to describe a particular course and the learners' response to its delivery. We study courses that use new learning technologies as well as courses with more conventional means of delivery. The case studies differ in learning technologies used, subject/skill area, and learner location. This two year project is halfway to completion.

In what follows, I offer descriptive data from two cases. The first case is an RV Tech Gas certification course. I use both questionnaire and interview data to describe the RV students perspectives' on four selected topics. The second case is an Environmental and Occupational Health Law course. I use interview data to illustrate some aspects of learner to learner interaction.

RV Gas Certification Course

The Course and the Students

The OUC-CBTT (Okanagan University College, Computer-Based Trades Training) RV Gas certification course is a Trades Qualification and Journeyperson Upgrading course. This course prepares students to write an examination that the Provincial Gas Safety Branch requires for certification as a Journeyman in the Recreation Vehicle Technician trade. One of the criteria to take the course is several years experience in the trade.

This course uses audio conferencing and audio-graphics. The instructor is located at the main (Kelowna) campus: nineteen students in groups of from 2 to 6 attended evening sessions (48 hours) at 6 different sites; the whole group met for a week-end practical (12 hours) session. This method of delivery was intended to respond to two barriers to participation: Small student numbers in any one geographical area, making it not feasible to provide an instructor in each area. The costs involved when workers attend a two weeks (60 hours), main campus location, class format.

Increasing Access

The questionnaire data indicates that the students were satisfied with the course's accessibility. (The questionnaire scale: 1=strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3=neither agree or disagree, 4= agree, 5=strongly agree. N=19.) For example, students agreed (M = 4.37; SD =.76) with the item, "I like this delivery method because it gives me flexibility in my studies (e.g., time, place, location)". Students agreed less strongly (M = 3.63, S.D. = 1.12) with this item, "If the course was not offered in this delivery method, I would not be able to complete it.". They disagreed (negatively worded, M = 1.95, S.D. =1.22) with an item on not taking another course this way.

Consistent with this, all four of the students who were interviewed were glad of this opportunity to complete the course this way. Several had been waiting for some time to take it, for example, and a number had been disappointed when previously scheduled courses had been canceled. Students recognize the need for compromise between what is feasible for the institution and what would be most convenient to individual learners.

As far as making it better, as I said, I waited for at least 2 years to get on this. Now, if this the only way they can do it, it's all they can do; you're not going to send a teacher all the way for 2 students each time, it's not worth their while. (Matt)

However, Mark would have preferred not to have had to travel to another town and another student, who drove to a location near his home, would have preferred to have been able to work at home.

Actually it was very convenient, the time schedule. It would have been more convenient if they'd had a station here in town. It seems as if they're limited in places to hold it [here] in that they would only have had me. That's sort of a bother; it added 6 hours travel time and that's an expense too. (Mark)

Response to Technology

Overall, students had some initial worry with the technology and increased comfort as the course progressed. The relevant questionnaire items are, " When I began the course, I was worried about the delivery method" (M = 3.32, S.D.=1.11) and "At this point in the course I am comfortable with the delivery method" (M = 3.95, S.D.=1.13). Mark offers an interesting perspective: that the technology used made the group more attentive.

Actually, when I first went into the course, I was a little leery about computers but the computers for some reason seem to settle everybody down quickly. (That's interesting.) Because if one person talks and another person talks at the same time, you hear nothing so everybody managed .. to keep it down. So ... it just appeared to me as if everybody was more attentive. (Mark)

Most students did not agree (M = 2.67, S.D.=.97) with the item, "I was not provided with enough training in the use of the technology at the start of the course." John, for example, was new to using computers; he found working with them "neat" and said training was unnecessary.

It was kind of neat for me to understand a little bit more about computers. The computers basically just came in when I was in grade 12 and I never got a chance to use them so I just missed out. (Should people have an introduction to computers before going into that course or was that not really necessary?) .. Well, any experience of it is going to help, obviously, but I don't really think it was necessary (okay) because the other guys at my site didn't have any experience and I had none and I think we had the .. least amount of problems of all. (John)

Luke, however, suggests there should have been a "crash" training course.

I think too, not everyone, especially, like say at my age or even some of the newer people, if they have a lot of computer skills .. and .. it may help, if there was a crash course or something on that to teach people how to use the computer a bit more. (How about for you? Did you go in pretty new to it, with low skills?) Pretty low ... (So you're thinking maybe an introduction to computers might have been useful in the beginning?) I think so, yes. (Okay) It ended up I ran the computer there because I was the only one who knew how the buttons worked so .. I noticed that in a few of the other shops it's the same thing and so if for some reason you have to be off sick, it leaves it to the other people to .. try to work something that they're not familiar with. (Luke)

Learner-Instructor Interaction

The relevant item on the questionnaire is, "In this course, I am able to interact (communicate and exchange ideas) with the instructor as much as I want." The responses indicate that learners are content with the degree of interaction (M = 4.21; S.D. =.92). What students say in the interviews paints an picture of the nature of the learner-instructor interaction.

[There's] one single computer in front of us and [instructor] is over the line and he controls everything. He asks the questions, he directs specifically to each man, no matter where they are, he keeps good control on roll call. (You can't actually see him or he you, correct?) Right but he knows, he knows. [laughter] Throughout the evening, he's asking questions to everybody, he's got a list of everyone who's in the course and he knows each one personally (okay) and he asks each individual who is on-line questions throughout the evening. (Mark)

(Did you think you had enough interaction, just being able to talk to people, to ask a question or bounce an idea off someone?) Okay, mostly we were talking to [instructor]. It was sort of an unwritten rule there, you're talking to the instructor but .. if someone does want to say something or correct you, he can do so (yeah.. (Luke)

It seems worthwhile to note that this teacher-directed approach to class sessions is seen very favourably by the students. All four students who were interviewed rated the instructor as excellent although three gave the course an overall rating of good and only one rated it excellent.

Learner-learner interaction

The relevant item on the questionnaire is, "In this course, I am able to interact (communicate and exchange ideas) with other students as much as I want." The responses indicate that learners are less content (M score is 3.68, S.D.1.16) with their interaction with fellow students than with their interaction with the instructor. Comments made in interviews help to sketch the student perspective. Interaction during class time was seen to be limited by how the telephone system worked.

A lot of times we couldn't hear what other students were saying over the conference call. Sometimes [instructor] would just answer a question and we'd have no idea what he was talking about. Everybody is supposed to hear it but there were certain times, either too far away from the telephone or they had the volume turned down. (Matt)

(Was there much interaction with the other guys during the classes?) I don't really know how it would work because if you get more than one person on the line, [instructor] can't understand because there's too many people trying to talk at once. (Sure; now you and [those other guys] would be in that same physical area every class and I'm wondering if you did much discussing of questions that came up or assignments or stuff.) Ahh .. a little bit, not really too much, [name

of co-worker] and I talk probably more because we work together (Yeah, and did you find useful in terms of learning course materials?) .. ahh (or not really?) not really. (Luke)

Interaction just before or after class seems limited because learners who share the same site chose not to interact much.

(Was there any, bouncing ideas off another?) There was a bit of that too. (In the class time?) Yeah, generally, had to do with what specifically our experiences were with one specific area or another .. there was no conversations going on or anything but someone would say, I just did that too, sort of discussion of what did actually happen ... (The group of you in that one location, did you discuss things particularly, or was there not much of that?) No, just during class. We would log on at 6:30 and log off at 9:30. (And then everybody would head off?) Exactly. (Mark)

(Were you interacting or bouncing ideas or was it mostly [instructor] asking a question and then you'd answer?) Ahhh, there was only a little bit of interaction with the other students but I'd say it was mostly [instructor]. (Would you say that was fine or not so good, not having discussion with one another?) umm.. well, I guess because the way the phones were, it wasn't really capable with a lot of people. (Okay. With the three of you in one space, did you do much talking about it before or after class or not really?) umm .. not really. (John)

Matt says he values interaction with others; yet he initially seems to misunderstand the question of whether those who shared the site talked about course content.

I think the interaction between students is very important and we didn't get that to the extent. ... (There were 6 of you in the room working on this each time; did you spend time sorting it through or talking about it or helping one another.) No. (So there wasn't really any interaction in that group in that location?) No, as far as that group in that location goes, the other guy works out in [one town], another out in [another town] .. you know, I'm not going to drive [out there] just to talk to this guy about the gas course. (Sure. I guess I'm wondering about being in that particular place together, if just before or after the actual scheduled activity, there was much going on.) No. (So it sounds like not really.) No. (Matt)

The Environmental and Occupational Health Law Course

The Course and the Student

The Environmental and Occupational Health Law course is part of a certificate program offered by the University of Victoria's Distance Education, Continuing Studies. It uses on-line delivery. Sara, who has training and experience as a legal assistant, is enrolled in this course. She dropped out of an earlier course (offered in classroom format) in the same program. She explains this in terms of work demands and feeling "out of place" because she saw the other students as more highly qualified than she.

I withdrew from the class ... I was into 50, 60 hours weeks, working evenings and weekends, being absolutely overrun at the workplace. Also, when I applied for the program, I expected there would be a few people sort of like myself going there out of interest and perhaps ... looking for another career change or direction and I was the only person out of ... the element there. Everyone there was in the nursing and in the medical professions, in the health and safety profession, so I felt really out of place. (Sara)

Learner-learner interaction

Two images on learner-learner interaction emerge from Sara's account. One image is of a classmate who helps to move her from being intimidated by final exam to completing it.

We received our final by email and I printed it off and ... read it through and looked at it and sort of shook my head. I said to myself I can't write this, I don't understand her questions, this is really tough and so I just put it aside and three days went by and one of my classmates called me up asked, and how are you doing on the final and I said, I don't think I'm going to write it, I put it aside, and that's how intimidated I was. And boy, did she ever give me a talking to ..., and she said, .. you've got a mental block, you're smart, you've got a really good brain. Go back, look at it, read it through; and just go forward and I got off the phone and ... I looked at it and it was just like things started to come together for me. But it was really interesting that the fear, the intimidation, the low, the lack of self-confidence .. that I seemed to be dealing with, to be experiencing, was such a major hurdle. ...[later in interview] It just worked out so well for me. I was top of the class, I got an A ... my brain's still working! (Sara)

The other image is of classmates who suggest that the course is a waste of time and money for someone with Sara's work background. As Sara talks of their comments, she leaves some of her sentences uncompleted. She also challenges their statements and is seeking information from other sources.

A number of my classmates, they feel that the course has been misrepresented. They've said to me, my coming in with the law background and going into this program, they've actually said if I expect to, after 3 years of paying huge, pretty expensive, and come out of it and get a job as a safety officer or consultant, I'm ... not that I, it's a certificate program; it's not that it's a degree. I know that; it's not a diploma, not a B.A. or anything close to that and yet it's an expensive ... . (I'm just wondering how accurate what they are passing on is.) Well, I'm interested in finding out in near future. The Steering Committee [associated with the program] is meeting with us before class, probably to discuss what I just related to you. ...So I'm curious about this, I don't know about my classmates who say, oh, this is leading to nothing, so I looked at them and said, why the heck are you taking this, and they said, we're interested and it's like, well, there are other things you could be taking and be interested in and getting the value of your money. (When people are engaged in something and yet saying negative things about it, it's hard to figure.) It gives me a little sense of ... well, irritation (and makes you question their point of view, just how valid ..?) Exactly, and this is why, I'm very .. looking forward to what the Steering Committee have to say. (Sara)

Looking Forward

At present, some of the case studies are complete or nearing completion. Others are in progress; a few cases remain to be identified. The first level of analysis entails the description of each particular course and the learners' response to it. Toward the completion of the project (March, 1999), analyses will include comparisons across cases; similarities and differences in learners' responses within certain key variables (e.g. learning technologies, institutional supports, learner location) will be identified. This research has implications for enhancing the quality of learning, increasing access to educational opportunities, and guiding decision making regarding institutional support services, course design, and investments in learning technologies.

BACK TO THE ROOTS; BACK TO THE FUTURE: A STUDY OF ADULT LEARNING IN THAILAND

Amara Pattapinyoboon

Abstract:

This paper describes the learning strategies of three Thai adults in Thailand. They are community leaders--local intellectuals--who work collaboratively with people in the community to revive culture, history, local wisdom, and also to rethink and incorporate these basics of Thai society into adult learning and education. Each local intellectuals has developed a learning strategy for community-based problem solving. The study emerged from a cross-site inquiry across three local learning agencies which have been established and organized by these three local intellectuals.

Introduction

As a developing country in South-East Asia which is now facing the most critical economic crisis, Thailand needs to rethink its development models. Over 150 years, the country has undergone many changes from an agrarian society to modernization. During the 1960s-70s, the country attempted to become semi-industrialized, but due to the lack of a technological infrastructure, Thailand can be categorized as still going through a stage of industrial development (Chongsatityoo & Chatiyanondha, 1992).

Although, the country has demonstrated a promising model to the world in both social and economic development during the last three decades, rapid change has taken its toll. As one government admitted, success in economic growth has occurred in spite of many problems relating to the five-year National Social and Economic Development Plans (Phongphit, 1986). The emphasis toward industrialization unintentionally left problems, particularly in agricultural areas. The problems range from income disparity, a large gap between rural and urban life, and to abuses and exploitation of both natural and human sources.

The consequences of pursuing rapid industrialization also affect educational development models which are employed as a means for social and economic development. The educational models have followed modern western education systems in order to prepare people for industrialized markets. Such educational systems cause an inequity of education distribution and lack of balance between indigenous practices and western education. These systems leave a large gap between the way people in general learn and educate themselves in their daily lives and what they study in schools.

This paper presents the learning strategies of three local intellectuals who transmit their experience and knowledge to solve problems as an alternative for educational development. These learning strategies are part of the author's investigation across three alternative learning settings in the form of "living exhibitions." The author presents these learning strategies which derive from participant observation and on-site interviews with the three key organizers of these local learning agencies.

Background

As an agricultural-based country, Thailand is still under-urbanized. The official estimate of the population is 58, 851, 357 (Journal of Population, 1996). Over 10 million people live in the capital--Bangkok--which is the centre of social, commercial, and political life. This dense population makes the capital 45 times the size of other largest cities in Thailand. The rest of the population is scattered in growing urban and mainly rural areas. Despite the country's rapid development which has attracted migration to the capital and big cities, the rural population continues to grow. Current projections suggest that the majority of Thai will continue to live in rural areas until after the year 2020 (Hirsch, 1994, p. 321).

In terms of socio-cultural characteristics, Thailand is a society mixed with influences from China and India, particularly Buddhism which 95 percent of Thais practice. Thai social structure can be depicted as three levels of hierarchical social groups which form a triangular shape: a) an elite level; b) a modernized urbanization level; and c) an agrarian level (Vasri, 1991). The proportion of these three social levels is found in all organizations and settings; from government to economic movements.

The elite level occupies the apex of the triangle. It represents only highly educated people and those of privileged social status; most earn high incomes. The second level demonstrates an urban-like society. The majority of this group consists of urban people, labour workers, employers, and low-income business groups. These two groups are involved in policy making for mass education, mass media, and mass national products.

At the foundation of the triangle, an agrarian level forms the majority of Thais. Most of them are farmers or engage in forestry, hunting, and fishing. They are relatively poor and uneducated, but maintain the unique Thai culture based on agriculture. In general, Thais live in a big family. They settle a community--connecting among kinship. Except the hill tribes in the North, Thais build their houses clustered in a village (in Thai--*Moo Ban*--meaning a group of houses) which is the smallest unit in Thai society (Watson, 1980).

The national development models affect the latter groups the most. Recently, these rural people have migrated to big cities looking for jobs because their crops no longer yield enough due to the exploitation of land and deforestation problems. This migration causes deterioration within the communities, i.e., people have less connections to their regions and communities, lack of traditional cultural practices, and poor quality of life for both themselves in the working conditions of the cities and for their children whom they have left with their elders in the villages. These phenomena happen throughout the country and increase everyday. Many attempts from both government and non-governmental organizations have initiated various programmes to improve the quality of people's life.

During the 1990s, many NGO workers in the field have identified the existence of an emergent concept of "local wisdom." It has been gaining wide acceptance among serious scholars in Thailand as a genuine developmental alternative for rural villages. In terms of economics, the "local wisdom" initiatives can be considered as a self-reliance strategy for living, particularly farming. In terms of culture, these actions represent a resistance to the domination of mainstream culture that is associated with the industrial revolution (Polanyi et al, 1957 cited in Puntasen, 1992, p. 93). Despite attempts to alleviate problems, people in the villages still migrate to towns and cities because they are suspicious that advice and assistance offered in their villages comes from "outside" organizations.

Few actual initiatives from the "bottom-up" have taken place within the communities. However, even those initiatives that have occurred have been less recognized as institutionalized activities. Among these community initiatives, three local intellectuals who have gained leadership roles and have respected connections in the community succeeded in establishing local community learning centres and actions by using ordinary, everyday locations to demonstrate their learning strategies. These locations are: a temple, an orchard-farm, and a canal.

Geographically, these three locations are commonly found in Thai rural or suburban settings. Traditionally in rural villages, a (Buddhist) temple is considered to be a centre for the villages surrounded by orchard-farms and connected by either rivers or canals. The temple, itself, is not only an institution used for religious rituals but also a community centre for artistic performances, basic (formal) education, and other social services, e.g., a refuge for the poor and the elderly, a hospital and a dwelling place for travelers (Chongsatityoo & Chatiyanondha, 1992 and de Young, 1966). Most of the food consumed locally is produced from farms and orchards located around the villages where rivers and canals are the main transportation and irrigation (Blanchard, 1958).

At these three local learning agencies, each initiator represents a local intellectual who originally lived in the community. They are local people, mostly elders and "knowers" of local history and culture who have developed their experiences and transformed their learning strategies for the benefit of their community. These people are progressive intellectuals that Gramsci calls the organic intellectuals (Gutierrez, 1983 cited in Puntasen, 1992, p. 106).

Local intellectuals

In Thai society, there are two types of local intellectuals, those who look after the affairs of the lay population (called *kae ban*--meaning "sages") and those who look after the monks (called *kae wat*--meaning senior monks) (Rabibhadana, 1993). They are also "natural leaders" recognized as representatives of the villages or communities in the traditional pattern of respect for seniority. Particularly in rural Thailand, (village) headmen, monks, teachers, traders, health officials, officials, and town-based middlemen are among key local leaderships. Monks are known to be important leaders in secular affairs, particularly at village communities.

The three local intellectuals in this study are typical rural community-leaders:

a) A chief abbot who is well-respected for his devotion to Buddhist teaching and learning and his concern for the people's quality of life;
b) A (long-time) village headman who is a farmer, leader, and a grassroots thinker for the welfare and well-being of his community village; and
c) A (retired) teacher and well-known educator who is concerned about environmental and educational development.

These three people have witnessed the rapid changes within their communities. They are concerned about the quality of people's life and aware of the consequences of the government's social and economic development models. They have initiated education and learning as survival guides among members of the community. These local intellectuals believe that learning is not only an act of acquiring knowledge and information but also a living process throughout life. They concentrate on a Buddhist "inside-out" process as a strategy for education and learning among people in their communities.

Historical development and the concept of education and learning in Thailand

In Thailand, the distinction between education and learning is often lost. Learning conflates education and schooling. Moreover, the government sees both as a means of preparing good citizens. The Thai words for learning and education are taken from Pali and Sanskrit, the languages used in Buddhist teaching.

In Buddhist teaching, learning occurs on three levels. The first level is the acquisition of knowledge from general reality. The second is the connection of separate areas of knowledge to create wisdom. The third is the consciousness or understanding of the relationship between everyday reality in connection with everything else. The second and third steps occur inside the body and mind and are an individual experience (Vasri, 1994). The process is intrinsic because it is generated inside the learners.

In the old days, learning was classified into two types. For vocational skills, the learning process occurred in the family, i.e., farming and hunting skills. For moral values, it took place in the interaction with monks and elders in the community or families. The latter was developed for the country's first formal education model.

Education, which was organized by the monasteries, has played an important role in the learning processes for secular education (Jacob, 1971). The monks were highly respected not only because of their religious roles but also because they were considered the most trustworthy teachers for all lay people. They practiced this learning process in the monastery by "teaching (their disciples) to memorize (not only facts and information but also experiences they gained), making a connection to what has been learned through actions, then, living with (new knowledge through) understanding the world through a daily-life process" (Pra Dhebsimaporn, 1990).

When modern education was introduced during the modernization period (in the 1920s), learning was considered as both process and product of education (Watson, 1980). Schools, as in the West, replaced traditional educational institutions in Thailand, such as monastic and apprenticeship training places. An individual's learning is referred to in terms of educational levels by the number of years he or she had participated in formal settings, i.e., schools and training courses (Chamarik, 1994).

Education which took place outside schooling settings was considered as other forms of life development, such as ordination, traditional training, and folk art transmission (Chamarik, 1994). These types of education are not acknowledged and have never been included in formal institutions of schooling. They are recognized as apprenticeships, informal socialization, and learning for living (Appadurai & Brechenridge, 1992). Learning has become a life-long process whereas education is the means to an end for development.

Learning strategy

With their understanding of education and learning and because of their accepted leadership roles, the three local intellectuals have developed their own learning strategy to solve their community problems. They have developed a community learning centre using local wisdom, local resources, and the traditional way of learning--making sense of the world around them--to improve their life. They have encouraged people within each community to "look back to (their) roots" and adapt their lives as a "back to the future" step.

The learning processes recognize traditional ways of learning and education based on Buddhist teaching and indigenous education, e.g., Koranic schools which are still practiced by 4.5 per cent of Thai Muslims. The processes are integrated with daily practices, such as traditional and cultural practices. These learning strategies follow successful processes and lessons from the past and select some practical concepts which can be adapted to present situations. The three local intellectuals developed the following features in their learning strategies:

A) Indigenous education from Buddhist teaching

The chief abbot who has established a community learning centre in a temple compound has introduced various Buddhist teaching to solve community problems. For example, he uses the Middle Path, which is about balancing one's life--not to extremely desire materials from outside the community--to teach people in the community to live in harmony with nature. He encourages people to come to the temple not only for religious practices but also to grow more plants around the temple compound. Gradually, these plants became a community forest which revives humidity and provides irrigation to the villages.

The chief abbot also invites people to practice meditation in an informal way by arranging an annual camp for group meditation. This occasion not only brings back financial support to the community from people who have left the villages but also encourages social gathering and family reunion.

B. A self-reliance concept

The farmer who stopped producing crops for the mass market and was thus able to discharge his debt has practiced an alternative cultivation for survival. He grows all kinds of plants for daily use in a forest-like environment, and sells some surplus crops to make a living. He summarizes his new method of farming as a self-reliance concept in that he limits his material desires, greed, and attachment (Kemchalerm, 1993). He has let nature control his plantation, with less and less chemical or human control. He has adopted a simple life, like in the old days, attuned to needs rather than desire. He recognizes modern science and technology and yet rethinks about local knowledge as local science and technology. He has adopted modern technology in a moderate way for his farming. For example, he has installed solar cells to generate water pumps because this technique causes less pollution to the environment. He has also preserved local knowledge in using plants for herbal medicine.

C. The "*Khit Phen*" concept

The "*Khit Phen*" concept is a Thai learning process through which learners learn to solve problems (Vorapipatana, 1970, 1994). The (retired) educator has introduced this concept to people along the canal to help solve the environmental problems. He addresses practical ways integrated with people's daily-life activities, e.g., fish releasing, fish farming, and eradicating water hyacinth for natural fertilizer in order to keep the water in the canal clean. Thus, people along the canal can use the canal for alternative transportation and irrigation and sometimes for flood drainage systems. The communities along the canal have activated people's participation which is embedded in their own daily practices and cultural roots. In their different ways, these canal dwellers--the Muslims, the Chinese, and other ethnic minority groups--collectively look after the canal and pay their respect to the spirit of water.

These learning strategies have some similarities in using Buddhist teaching, indigenous beliefs and practices, including incorporating ways of life to understand and solve community problems. These learning strategies are community action initiatives from "within" each community. The processes demonstrate how people in "bottom-up" communities learn through action oriented strategies and educate one another through alternative learning processes. However, these learning strategies are distinctive from each other according to the location, resources, and activities that occur at each learning agency. The activities describe merely illustrations of how people in general learn to survive in their everyday living.

Conclusion

These learning strategies are less recognized because people take them for granted as everyday activities. As the country is moving and following western culture, these learning strategies demonstrate how Thais must realize and struggle through the problems posted by rapid changes. These learning strategies represent alternative models of how people can learn to survive, solve their problems, and, most of all, feel proud of who they are and what they have which is the ultimate goal of education by "looking back to the roots" and step forward by "looking back for the future."

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INCLUSIVITY AND EXCLUSIVITY IN ADULT EDUCATION: TOWARD DISABILITY AWARENESS AND SENSITIVE NOT-UNDERSTANDING

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This paper offers a critical post-modern perspective on the inclusion and exclusion of people with disabilities in adult learning contexts. Problematizing the "normal" illuminates able-ist assumptions and attitudes that exclude learners with disabilities. Educators must face their fear of the Other, abandon the modernist notion of definitive answers, and engage in an ongoing process of reflection, communication, and sensitive not-understanding. Only then will inclusivity be possible.

Une analyse dans l'optique post-moderne des arguments pour et contre l'inclusion de personnes handicappées dans le cadre de l'éducation permanente. La problématique du "normal" eclaire le risque que courent ceux et celles qui confrontent un handicap. Par contre les personnes dans l'éducation doivent faire face à leur propre peur de l'Autre, abandonner le quête de solutions définitives et entreprendre un processus continu de réflexion, de communication, et de non-compréhension dans la compassion. Ce n'est qu'à partir de ce moment-là que l'inclusion s'avérera possible.

It is not new to say that the face of the adult education classroom of the 90's is changing. bell hooks (1994) and Henry Giroux (1993) acknowledge this in their work on difference in education. References to diversity in adult education and other literature are becoming common. Lists of differences often include diversities like age, class, gender, race and ethnicity. What is still uncommon in such lists, however, is an item named "dis/ability." The absence of reference to abilities in writing about diversity and multiculturalism reflects a concept we can refer to as "dis/ability blindness." Giroux uses the term "erasure" (105, 139), which works well to signify the assumption that if we ignore disability it (the frightening undefinable Other) will either go away, or someone else - perhaps someone in a special role or department - will take care of the "problem." This problem will not go away, however, because new laws such as the Americans with Disabilities Act (1990), the Universal Human Rights Act, Canada's most-recent Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1985) and various proposed reforms demand "full ...integration of people with disabilities into mainstream society" (CHRC, 1997, 2). Although "persons with disabilities still have a long way to go to catch up with the mainstream society" (Dickinson, 1996), increasing de-institutionalization, community integration, and a new generation of children with disabilities whose parents advocate more vocally than ever before, make this a new moment in the history of disability rights. This moment challenges able-ist notions of the "normal" and our previous understanding of education as a means of "maintenance and reproduction of the social order, the transmission and inculcation of the norms of cultural authority" (Usher, 1994, 140).

The idea of "inclusion" as a yet-to-be-fully-realized new social norm resists definition and raises serious questions for both educators and learners (Tisdell 1995). The challenges to both groups are based in what Jack Mezirow (1992) refers to in his "Transformation Theory of Adult Learning" as an experience of "dissonance," where old preconceptions collide with the new realities, demanding a new consciousness [réfléchie] (Derrida) through reflection on the old beliefs and stereotypes that inform our meaning schemes and consequent behaviours, attitudes, or stances in relation to the Other. Inclusivity in the adult education classroom is only possible through a carefully developed awareness of our own responses to the Other, the roots of those responses, and transformation of those responses to a new level of sensitivity. I call that sensitivity a state of "not-understanding" because diversity, and its reflection in the disability community, "counters the modernist notion of "methodologically controlled rational investigation" to discover or prove the "Truth". (Usher 87). Reflections upon the stories that inform our belief systems, and upon the new stories offered by the "Others" who are increasingly in our midst will allow educators to "create and recreate ourselves" (Usher 147) to achieve disability awareness and, thereby, an attitude of sensitive "not understanding" which will engage the Other into an the educational discourse called inclusivity.

The idea of "not-understanding" is an irritation in a modern culture that believes in the grand narrative of reason and the existence of objective Truth. As a practitioner working with people who have all kinds of disabilities I have grown accustomed to reprimands that once cut me to the core like "you don't understand brain injury!" or "you don't understand deaf culture." For a long time I believed these accusations were only worthy of those who were new to work in these communities. I resisted and even argued against these accusations. I worked alongside other practitioners who would assume a superior stance, roll their eyes, and sometimes even say things like "here we go again - we know the Truth, they are just being ungrateful and irrational." Unable to join my peers on their pedestal, I would engage in wild goose chases, desperately searching for the "Truth" that would help me "really understand" the Other. My personal journey was echoed recently in an adult education listserve discussion. A person with a disability was having difficulty feeling included in all learning events because of inadequate accommodations. Fellow learners eagerly typed in "solutions" to her "problems." The process of the discussion became increasingly heated, culminating in her trying to educate the other learners about the dynamics of control in the able-dis/abled relationship. My experience of this scenario helped me to see the importance of attitudes and control in issues of inclusion, and how my own quest to "know" and "understand" the Other was in fact a bid for power and control. I therefore made a personal commitment to "not-understanding" in a way that is sensitive and communicative.

The relationship between the disability community and the ability community, the normal and the abnormal (or what Foucault calls "deviant"), tells a long story of disempowerment and *in*-sensitive not-understanding. People with disabilities have long been ostracized, stigmatized, stereotyped and incarcerated, presumably as a way to protect societies that could not tolerate deviance from the norm. Usher points out that the "significance of a norm is that it works by excluding; it defines a standard and criteria of judgement thus identifying all those who do not meet the standard" (Usher 103). In Interdependence: The Route to Community Al Condeluci summarizes the power of differentiation and judgement when he writes: "the power of difference is so strong that even if a person has some appearance [of] difference, but is as skillful (or even more skillful) in ability to the norm, [s/he] will probably be rejected" by those who pass as part of mainstream society. Oppressive attitudes mean people with disabilities have been "held back, physically or psychologically, from the goals they aspire to, and the norms of society" (Condeluci 16). Rendering the disability community a community of outcasts, on the lowest levels of the social hierarchy, is an act of in-sensitive not-understanding.

This in-sensitive not-understanding of the Other is rooted in fear, a natural but perhaps infantile response to difference characterized by the desire to escape or seek comfort with those who share common characteristics with the subject (Gleitman 295, 395). Fear is a powerful emotion which is defined in the OED as "painful...caused by impending danger or evil." Condeluci offers a good encapsulation of the nature of preconceived meanings associated with what is "normal" or "ab-normal, and how they foster in-sensitivity and even an idea that difference is "evil" and a potential threat to dominant culture (Giroux, 65):

> When we encounter a person who is different, we are cautious, distanced, curious or hostile. In our efforts to figure out and order the different person, we resort to our past experiences. Some people with disabilities have only recently been visible in society. If we don't understand disability, we will resort to images or ideations that have been developed from books, or things we might have heard or seen in the past. We might conjure up circus side-show freaks, or Gothic institutional images" (Condeluci19).

Mezirow would describe this phenomenon as a failure to "reflect critically on taken-for-granted-assumptions [which he feels] is the cardinal dimension of adulthood" (Welton, 7). According to Kohlberg, strict adherence, acceptance and conformity to social rules because one believes they maintain a desired social order is a sign of conventional morality. People at this stage of development generally view rules and moral edicts as binding and do not believe themselves capable of challenging society's assumptions entrenched in law and moral codes (Plumb, 56). Clearly a different approach and level of moral development is necessary to create a climate of inclusivity and an attitude of sensitive not-understanding in the adult education classroom.

To achieve an inclusive learning environment in adult education will require an abandonment of the modernist quest for truth, maintenance of the status quo and transmittal of what is known, in favour of more flexible and innovative critical pedagogies which recognize the post-modern valuation of diversity, "not-understanding" and flux. Donald A. Schön, in The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action, critiques the concept of the "expert" who bases practice on a "traditional epistemology of practice," and therefore "ignores, explains away, or controls those features of the situation, including the human beings within it, which do not fit his knowledge-in-practice" (344). Acknowledging a distinction between the special knowledges a practitioner such as a teacher may share with learners, from the possibility of a claim to know or understand every learner, learning style, or learning need, Schön advocates what he calls "reflection-in-action." By this he means the ability to "discover and restructure the interpersonal theories of action which [educators] bring to their professional lives" (353). Clearly Schön is saying that, in times of "unrealized possibilities" (Giroux 29) it is one thing to have knowledge and understanding of a science or other topic, and another to believe one can understand the learner and, thereby, expect to transmit one's knowledge-as-truth in the same fashion to all participants in a learning event.

Freire, Botkin et al., hooks, Giroux, Mezirow and a host of other educational theorists have called for new forms of critical and innovative pedagogy to replace maintenance or banking systems of learning in modern times of crisis and change. Language, stereotypes, media and social institutions are described by such theorists as the tools that prevent flexibility of attitudes, thought and action. Knowles cites Alfred North Whitehead's observation that old forms of education for "transmittal of what is known" were appropriate "only when the time-span of major cultural change was greater than the lifespan of individuals" (Knowles, 40). The fact that able-ism is not only a product of fearing the unknown Other is evident in the way current maintenance learning models have produced another kind of societal fear that shapes attitudes about inclusion:

> It has been instructive to be a participant in hundreds of emotional meetings about "inclusion", when it is crystal clear after a few minutes that inclusion is only nominally the topic. The real topic (seldom stated) is Fear of Change! Many people in education ... are afraid..... Afraid of what they don't understand. (Pearpoint & Forest, 1995, p. 2).

How ironic it is that the modernist grand narrative of progress, rooted as it is in science, technology and their promises of the discovery of "Truth" through empirical observation have brought so many innovations without corresponding levels of reason and moral development to cope with their implications. Medical science has saved lives leaving individuals who lack adequate infrastructure supports. Technology has offered electric wheelchairs, portable elevators, braille recorders, computer adaptations, musical-sound recordings to promote concentration, prostheses with proprioception (sense of touch), portable ventilators and other accommodations that can reduce or eliminate former physical barriers to the inclusion of people with all kinds of disabilities in adult learning contexts, yet we cannot get across the barriers formed by the thoughts and attitudes of fellow citizens who continue to in-sensitively not-understand disability. The 1997 Annual Report of the CHRC asserts that, "although some progress has been made over the past 20 years ... [it has been] far too little and far too late ... Many of the perceptions and attitudes of (the) early days still prevail and those are the attitudes that post the major barriers to people with disabilities" (p.1). Where there has been progress in science and technology, there has yet to be progress toward attitudes of sensitive not-understanding.

The story of inclusion is mostly about the power of attitudes as they are expressed through critical dialogue with Others. It is about voice and silence. It is about acceptance, tolerance and rejection. It is also, of course, about how a society's attitudes - entrenched in laws, policies and institutions like the education system - are reflected in its citizens. The importance of attitudes was affirmed last week when a query emailed to the directors of Disabled Student Centres at Colleges and Universities across Canada yielded this response to the question, "What do you think are the main issues that determine the inclusivity or exclusivity in a learning environment?:

> Melody, from my experience working with students with disabilities, I believe the answer to your question is based on the students' attitudes about themselves, their abilities, and the world around them. If the student has accepted the fact that their ability is different and have worked through the acceptance process, have a good sense of their worth and their place in society then inclusion is not a problem. If the reverse is true, then they will be excluded because they will exclude themselves. - JH

The key issues here, in terms of inclusion, are attitudes and self-acceptance. In my practice learners with disabilities cannot progress if they are struggling with issues of self-esteem and accepting their disabilities. Acceptance is usually a bigger issue, in my experience, for learners who have acquired - as opposed to being born with - a disability like brain or spinal cord injury. Self-esteem can also be a major issue for learners searching for their place in the world following de-institutionalization. In any case, it is also my experience that the attitudes that have either informed the person with a disability's personal belief system, or that s/he experiences from others, are ultimately the key determining factors of both self-acceptance and self-esteem.

The problem when attitudes are a major barrier to inclusion is that they are often invisible, hidden in the language we use and the meanings that language conveys. In Steve Proctor's article, "Question of Language," Charlie MacDonald, Chairperson of the Disabled

Persons Commission in Halifax refers to as the language, terms and phrases which are the "mirror of society's attitudes," and confirms that these are "the biggest barriers persons with disabilities face." There is a new popular twist on the old childhood chant "sticks and stones will break my bones" which replaces the finale "but names will never hurt me" to the more-awkward "but names will stick with me for the rest of my life." Disability advocates agree that language in particular needs to be used in a spirit of sensitivity. They also acknowledge that the concept of "politically correct" terminology can be, as Giroux puts it "clumsy" (155) enough to alienate and leave abler-bodied people tongue-tied. Spencer Bevan-John, editor of the national news magazine Ability Network, and Cathy Moore, manager of the Halifax branch of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind agree that the key is to "put the person first" and downplay the disability, as in saying "person who is a mental health consumer" rather than "a schizophrenic." In his article Proctor reviews terms used by various generations to name people with disabilities, and notes how terms acceptable to one generation shock another. Language, like society, is always changing so we always risk demeaning the Other if we do not choose our words with care and sensitivity. Cindie Cox, coordinator of the Colchester Association for Persons with Disabilities recognizes the post-modern reality that "no one is ever going to come up with one...set of terms that makes everyone comfortable" so advises "if you're unsure... ask the person." This seemingly transparent solution can, however, challenge able-ist notions of knowledge and power because they force an admission of not-understanding and even subordination to the knowledge and self-understanding of the learner with a disability. (Proctor 1996)

The very notion of inclusivity defies definition and demands educational approaches characterized by sensitive not-understanding. Inclusivity demands creation of a common ground for the learner, the educator, the educational organization, and for the needs of an increasingly diverse society. As educators, we must examine our beliefs, the stereotypes that inform them, and the words we choose to convey our thoughts and meanings to Others. In a sense we need to identify the values and beliefs that have informed our meaning schemes, only to abandon those meaning schemes in favour of new ideas, and their expression through language, which are not founded in science, research or the professions, but rather in the life experiences and language of the Other. Inclusivity in adult education depends on preparing ourselves, as educators, for a dialogue that respects the experience of Others and their ability to teach us that there is much we do not know and can only hope to sensitively not-understand.

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INFORMAL LEARNING PROCESSES IN A WORKER COOPERATIVE

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Paper to be presented at the 17th annual conference of the
Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, Ottawa, May 29-30, 1998

Abstract

This paper examines the informal learning processes among members of a worker co-operative located in Toronto. The study indicates that members of the co-operative acquire almost all of their job-related knowledge using informal learning processes, i.e., learning from experience; discussions during meetings; and questions to internal experts and other members.

Résumé

Cet article examine les processus d'apprentissage informel chez les membres d'une coopérative ouvrière établie à Toronto. Cette recherche montre que ces derniers acquièrent presque toutes leurs connaissances reliées au travail à travers les processus d'apprentissage informel, tels que, en apprenant par l'expérience, les discussions pendant les réunions, et/ou en posant des questions aux experts internes et aux autres membres.

With the emphasis on formal schooling in our society, there has been a tendency to underestimate the importance of other types of learning (Livingstone 1997). Howe (1991) estimates that at least 80 per cent of learning occurs outside of the formal classroom. Although one might question the accuracy of such estimates and their generalizability across all types of organizations, it is clear that there is a need both to better understand the extent of education beyond formal schooling and how it is manifest in particular organizational settings.

Garrick (1996: 23) refers to informal learning as consisting of such processes as: "mentoring, networking, working in teams, receiving feedback and trial and error." This definition also covers learning through experience and task-based learning. Informal learning may also include other self-directed activities to gather knowledge outside of formal education settings, for example, at home, the workplace, libraries and through the mass media. Informal learning is also distinct from non-formal learning, which Garrick (1996: 22) defines as "any organizational activity outside of the established formal (school) system ... that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives." While the primary focus of this study is to evaluate informal learning processes in a worker co-operative, non-formal learning in the form of in-house training and outside professional courses was also assessed.

A worker co-operative is a useful context for addressing informal learning in that the members of its governance are also employees who are generally lacking in formal training for the governing role. As such, they must acquire the skills that are needed to properly perform their duties in the governance. For many other types of co-operatives (for example, credit unions, farm marketing co-operatives, housing co-operatives), there are courses for board members when they assume their duties. These courses are normally given through second tier organizations (for example, provincial credit union centrals) to which the primary co-operatives belong. Although there is a central organization for worker co-operatives both in Canada and in Ontario, that organization lacks the resources of the centrals for more established forms of co-operatives. The worker co-operative is the least developed form of co-operative in Canada as well as in other countries (Quarter 1992). As such the worker co-operative sector has not developed the training programs for board and other members in the same manner as other types of co-operatives.

The worker co-operative that was the subject of this study is the Big Carrot, a natural foods retailer in the East End of Toronto with 75 employees of which 35 are members. The Big Carrot is more successful than the typical worker co-operative in Canada in that it is the largest single retailer of natural foods in the country with annual sales of $8 million and has been consistently profitable over the past six years. The firm was started by eight people in 1983 as a small market for sale and promotion of organically grown foods; four years later it purchased space across the street and expanded into a supermarket.

The Big Carrot, like worker co-operatives in general, is an example of a democratic workplace in that each member has one vote at general meetings and in electing the co-operative's directors (Ellerman 1990). The five-member board of directors meets every two weeks, with the general manager participating as a non-voting member. Consensus is the dominant approach to decision making in the co-operative. This process can transcend to the routine and operational matters as well. The "long and lively" general membership meetings are also scheduled biweekly on alternate weeks. Thus a member of the co-operative who is also on the board spends around two hours every week in one or other of these meetings.

Methodology

The research methodology involved a combination of semi-structured interviews of key participants conducted by the authors and the analysis of background documents including previous research on the co-operative (Morgan and Quarter 1991). In selecting interviewees, two criteria were taken into consideration: first, they served in key roles in the governance (that is, the board of directors and important committees); and second, they were willing to participate. Seven people were selected in this manner – the five members of the Board of Directors and two additional members, one of whom was on the Co-op Education Committee and another from the Standards and Ethics Committee. Some members of the Board of Directors also served on these other committees. In effect, the interviews covered the entire membership of the board of directors and the two aforementioned committees. In addition, the co-operative's general manager, a non-member hired in the fall of 1996, was also interviewed. The interviews explored how the members of the co-operative acquire the knowledge that they require in order to perform their day to day jobs, supervisory functions where applicable and their role in corporate governance.

Results

The interview data was transcripted and analysed in terms of codes and categories to evaluate learning processes, sources and forums. The number of times a category was mentioned in the interviews is shown in brackets. The learning processes mentioned most frequently were: learning from experience, that is, learning by working on-the-job (36); discussions (26) and queries (12). The important sources for acquiring job-related knowledge were: internal experts (33); other members and colleagues (20); and external experts like company auditors (13). The board and member meetings (16) and committees (12) emerged as important forums of learning. The very democratic culture of the co-op with participative decision-making was also identified as a significant contributor to the learning process (13).

These informal learning processes, along with the associated contexts, are examined in greater detail around the six topics that were explored in the interviews:

1. Learning about one's own job - trade

The dominant process involved here was learning on the job (OTJ). Also called learning through experience or learning by doing, it is the backbone of experiential learning and may involve some trial and error. More than half of the 36 OTJ instances coded in the transcripts were in the context of learning about one's own trade and technical skills.

2. Personnel - supervisory responsibilities

This area covers selection and training of employees. Most of the interviewees had supervisory responsibilities and became involved not only in hiring decisions but also in such mundane tasks as preparing and updating job descriptions and conducting employee appraisals. Here again learning on the job (OTJ) figured highly, followed by learning from internal or external experts through personal one-on-one questioning and discussions in groups.

3. Planning and forecasting

This area may cover inventory management and sales projections. Here again, experience and learning on the job (OTJ) seemed to be the dominant mode.

4. Financial statements

The financial statements involve technical materials for which the members of the co-operative have minimal training. While a few members took accounting courses or did some personal reading, that was not the norm. Therefore, the members depend heavily on "trusted" experts such as their accountant who go over financial statements periodically and are also available for any questions. An environment of trust is critical to the informal learning processes and particularly the willingness of the members of the co-operative to turn to internal experts.

5. Co-operative philosophy and corporate knowledge

The oral tradition whereby knowledge is passed from the older to the newer members played an important role in transmitting the co-operative's philosophy. The membership has increased rapidly over the past few years and a newly formed Co-op Education Committee has taken a leading role in orienting new members. This effort, mostly sponsored by members with strong commitment to the co-operative's ideology, is more structured than many other learning activities at the Big Carrot. Nevertheless, it is an informal orientation organized by veteran members and "co-op ideologues" rather than a formal program conducted by professional trainers.

6. Knowledge of natural food industry and trends

Although the incoming members of the Big Carrot tend to have a minimal understanding of a worker co-operative when they start, there is a relatively strong commitment to natural foods and their efficacy in promoting a healthy lifestyle. Nevertheless, within the membership there are differing points of view on this philosophy and particularly what types of products are consistent with it. The members of the co-operative have held vigorous debates on these issues and to this day these discussions continue at the membership meetings. The Standards and Ethics Committee was set up by the members to establish guidelines that would serve as a framework for product purchases. Again, self-education is salient in how both the members of this committee and general membership acquire information and develop policies.

Additional Comments

The co-operative does not have a training department or formal training courses as is the case with most conventional companies. Nevertheless, the co-operative is expanding and there is a feeling of discomfort among members in senior positions that the current processes for self-education might be inadequate. The formal processes are strikingly minimal. However, the co-operative is attempting to change that balance by increasing its investment in formal programs either offered by the community colleges or mounted by external experts.

Discussion

The main findings are summarised below:

1. The predominant mode of job-related learning among members of the co-operative, which represents a successful business in a highly competitive retail food market, is through informal processes rather than formal in-house training or outside courses.
2. Of these informal processes, the most important were:
    a) Learning from experience, that is, learning by doing.
    b) Discussions: one-on-one or during committees and board meetings.
    c) Questions to internal and external experts and other members.
3. The very democratic structure of *Big Carrot*, underscored by a strong participative culture, stimulates discussions at various levels and promotes learning through informal processes.
4. Written documents like the Policy Manual and the Co-op Mission Statement were used as reference material. The knowledge of personnel matters came primarily through experience (learning by doing) while the co-op philosophy was passed on orally through interaction with other members.
5. The meetings of the board, the general-membership and other committees served as important vehicles for spreading job-related knowledge through discussions and question/answer sessions.
6. A number of knowledgeable members (i.e., internal experts) were identified as important sources for dissemination of knowledge through informal processes, such as discussions and queries. These "experts" were trusted and respected for their knowledge of specific areas like financial statements, personnel matters and supervisory issues.
7. The internal networks, organized either socially or on a departmental basis, also served as subsidiary vehicles for dissemination of job-related knowledge.
8. The orientation sessions put in place lately by the Co-op Education Committee for newly inducted members also were informal, but nevertheless were important to the education of incoming members.

Given the predominance of informal processes at the Big Carrot, one might speculate on the reasons why they are so salient and, notwithstanding the question of their adequacy, appear to serve the co-operative relatively well. These theoretical speculations might be useful in drawing comparisons with the conventionally structured organizations researched in the NALL (New Approaches to Lifelong Learning) study.

First, for informal learning to be effective the participants must have the opportunities to interact both internally and externally to their workplace. At the Big Carrot, such opportunities are available in the many meetings, departmental interactions, easy accessibility of internal experts/mentors and through social networks outside of the workplace. Zimmerman (1998) proposes that "efficiency" (as reflected in the effort by organizations to eliminate down time) might work against informal learning.

Second, the willingness to interact informally is also a function of the cohesiveness of social relations and the trust that employees have of each other. Where employees feel comfortable with each other, they are more likely to interact informally. Putnam (1993) uses the term social capital to describe the trust that is needed for a community to function properly. It is suggested that this same concept can be applied to the workplace as an explanatory variable for informal learning.

Third, the Big Carrot involves an unusual relationship between expertise and hierarchy. In most organizations, there is a positive correlation between hierarchy and expertise in that those at the top of the hierarchy tend to have specialized forms of expertise that are generally inaccessible to those at the lower levels. Within the Big Carrot, the relationship between expertise and hierarchy is less striking. Rather it appears that there are experts at all levels of the hierarchy who serve to educate other members. It is proposed that this lack of correlation between expertise and hierarchy might serve to promote informal learning.

Fourth, where forms of technical expertise are located in particular positions, such as general manager and accountant, it is proposed that the relatively flat structure of the worker co-operative (for example, as reflected in the arrangement that the general manager is hired by and is accountable to a board consisting of employees) encourages such "knowledgeable professionals" to share their expertise more freely than would be the case in a conventionally structured organization.

Fifth, it is proposed that the ownership arrangements of the Big Carrot which involves members making a $5000 investment, motivates members to be self-directed in learning the skills that are needed to function to a high degree of efficiency. It is proposed that employees of a conventional business would be less self-directed in their learning activities.

Sixth, it is proposed that the democratic milieu of the Big Carrot encourages the sharing of ideas that are critical to informal learning. In other words, through participating in meetings where differing points of view are discussed, members of the co-operative acquire essential knowledge both for their jobs and for participating in the governance.

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CHALLENGING OUR TRADITIONAL RESEARCH POSITIONALITY: THE MOVE TOWARDS RESEARCH-IN-PRACTICE IN ADULT EDUCATION

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Abstract: Research in the field of adult education has become more inclusive over the past decade; however, while a wider variety of methodologies has emerged, this paper challenges the long-standing ambivalence of the mainstream towards research-in-practice. The significance of such research, some collaborative methods used today and historically, and questions for researchers are presented.

Introduction: The Movement towards Research-in-Practice

This paper proposes that the field of adult education is benefiting substantially from the movement toward research-in-practice and that more of such research in its various forms should be encouraged. We also argue that those who regard themselves as "researchers" have an important role to play in promoting, engaging in, and legitimizing this research. This important role could be seen as connected to our (undocumented) histories of research collaboration and research-in-practice, or it could be linked with today's numerous research-in-practice activities going on in North America and globally. Taking a collaborative stance with research in practice could lead us to more direct involvement with practitioners in, for example, action research, participatory research, and transformative research activities. Such would be an involvement very much in keeping with the practice-oriented mission of our field. However, there are many daunting challenges to this enterprise, only a few of which we will be able to address in this paper. Developing a critical self-awareness of our own views about research, opening space for various uses and applications of research in general, and considering what constitutes research-in-practice in particular is an important starting point. In essence, if we are committed to an expanded view of research and wish to embrace research-in-practice as part of the mainstream, then we must give greater attention to what people learn to successfully engage in and what we can do to encourage more of it.

Is Adult Education Ready?" A Look at the Politics of Traditions

In 1964, Jensen, Liveright and Hallenbeck asked: "Is adult education ready?" Their own unqualified, "Yes," launched the famous Black Book: Adult education: Outlines of an emerging field of University Study and further entrenched the belief held by many adult education academics then and since that scientific positivism is the royal road to academic legitimation for this field. As Wilson (1992) has shown, scientific positivism-for-professionalization and its attendant research methods dominated the Handbooks from 1934 to 1989. Our field's move away from this early "professionalization dictum" would make an intriguing study. Taylor (1993) has shown how qualitative methodologies slowly overtook the publication of quantitative articles in the AEQ. Boshier, Kasl, Sheared and Quigley in a 1995 AERC symposium indicated how this trend has occurred in research papers. Today, according to Merriam, the debate between "competing" paradigms has passed: "The debate in the current research literature is not over whether or how to bring about an integration of paradigms but rather about the extent to which research methods characteristic of particular paradigms can or should be mixed and matched" (p. 60). According to Boshier (1994), postmodernity has now "opened spaces for 'other' voices" (p. 103).

Given the movement to qualitative methods and the building f plurality in our research, is it not time for adult education to again ask: "Is adult education is ready?"—ready to more seriously include research-in-practice in the discussion and knowledge base? If this question-- as rhetorical today as in 1964--was "simply" one of research relevance to our diverse field, the answer would, again, probably be an unqualified, "Yes." However, in the academic setting, research is embedded in power and politics. To fully embrace research-in-practice raises the ubiquitous questions of our "status" in academe. As Blunt has noted, "University adult education researchers have traditionally experienced a 'catch 22,'" because " practitioners [hold] a negative attitude toward research as they have judged the results to have contributed little of value … and …the reputation of adult education researchers in the university has suffered because of their focus on applied research" (p. 184).

Naming Our Research and its History

If the issues in promoting, engaging in, and legitimating research-in-practice were less on academe's political turf and more on ideological or ethical grounds, we might well be in a better position to celebrate the fact that collaborative modes of research have been used by adult educators in this country and internationally for decades. However, it is hardly an oversight that "research-in-practice" is so absent from the acceptable approaches in our professionalization history. Almost twenty years ago, Hall (1979) forcefully argued the case for participatory research as a legitimate method of knowledge production, adding: "We have come dangerously close to creating a situation in the social sciences which effectively denies recognition of the knowledge-creating abilities in most of the peoples of the world" (p. 10). The retort from Griffith in the same publication was "If a survey is designed and administered and the results analyzed by villagers untrained in research methodology, its value rises in the opinion of the advocates of participatory researcher" (p. 34).

Despite the closed exclusivity of our professionalization and research tradition, those such as Deshler (1991) and Peters (1991) have continued to ask: Who should produce and legitimate knowledge? Today, other voices for other methods include Brooks and Watkins (1994) who have not only argued for the inclusion of participatory research in the mainstream, but also have made the case for popular education methodologies, participatory action research, and collaborative forms of inquiry. Tom and Sork (1994) have argued for collaborative research. Quigley and Kuhne (1997) have made the case that action and participatory action research should be included in the mainstream, pointing out that these methods are being used extensively by adult education practitioners and academics across PA, WV, NC, MI, NY and CA in the U.S.. They have discussed how, in Australia, literacy educators have been supported by government and universities with funding, training, and dissemination of findings. In 1997, meetings among Canadian academics and practitioners sponsored by the National Literacy Secretariat took place in Edmonton to advance literacy action research.

Historically, while our traditional histories often include the work of Myles Horton and Highlander; Moses Coady and the Antigonish Movement; and, occasionally, the work of various feminist groups; worker educators; and community groups, these are rarely understood as more than community action projects or social movements. The collaborative research implications of these histories have been generally ignored in our traditional histories.

Making a Commitment to Research-in-Practice

Accepting research-in-practice as legitimate and committing oneself to it philosophically are not sufficient to engage in it responsibly. Collaborating to produce action-oriented knowledge also requires understandings, sensitivities and skills that can best be learned in the action setting. Although there are dozens of capabilities necessary to initiate, sustain and conclude research-in-practice, the one to be discussed here is *working across differences*. While it may seem odd to those who have been on the vanguard of participatory and action research because they long ago learned that *difference* is a universal feature of such work, recognizing and working across differences are essential skills in research-in-practice. This is because the power relations featured in traditional research mask difference or allow researchers to ignore them. Work by Chapman and Sork (1997), provides an illustration of how research carried out within the academic community is so embedded in asymmetrical power relations that fundamental differences related to gender, culture, epistemological beliefs and methodological commitments are not allowed to "intrude" on the enterprise. By contrast, research-in-practice *invites* such intrusions because difference is a key feature of the action settings. This means that those schooled in traditional ways of doing research have a lot to learn if they are to make a successful transition to research-in-practice. Not only will they be confronted by more symmetrical power relations in which negotiating intentions, meaning and process requires significant energy, but they will have to learn ways of working with others in which difference is regarded as a strength rather than a nuisance. Those *not* socialized into traditional research models have the advantage here because they do not have to overcome the effects of this powerful socialization.

To illustrate this point further, imagine a research-in-practice project involving several people whose primary affiliation is with the practice site and two "university" folks who have considerable methodological expertise and can access some of the required resources. Each person brings a unique biography that will influence their motives, commitment, the way they collaborate, and their expectations. The project concerns an intractable community problem that no one seems interested in addressing *except* those on the project. One of the site-based collaborators feels strongly that the problem persists primarily because of political inaction and that strong political activism is the way to proceed. Another believes that demonstrating the need to key decision makers is the most promising strategy. Yet another believes that those affected by the condition are disempowered so the strategy should be to empower those involved to take personal responsibility for changing the situation. One of the university folks sees this as an opportunity to add another case study to her collection. The other university person has a modest grant and can support some student involvement in data collection.

Now insert yourself into the project as someone interested in helping and consider your own biography and how it would influence your involvement. Ask: "What aspects of your biography would likely exert the greatest influence on your approach?", "How would your gender, ethnicity and class affect your commitment to the project and the outcomes you would value?", "How did you react to the characterizations of each person involved in the project and why did you react the way that you did?", "How would you suggest the group begin to organize itself and why do you think it would work?"," What problems can you anticipate might develop in this project and how might they be prevented?" The point of this brief exercise is to highlight the importance—and the differences—in biographies when we decide to engage with others in research-in-practice.

Towards a Framework of Research Intentionalities

Beginning to consider questions, which arise from critical self-reflection, begins to take us towards some emerging issues for researchers. It perhaps serves as an indication of how far our field has moved to see Merriam cautioning: "adult education is indeed a moral activity in which we intervene in the lives of women and men in, we hope, positive ways. Research then, should be conducted with this in mind...we should care what happens with and to our participants" (991, pp. 59-60). From this moral, rather than instrumental basis, she has argued that programming, teaching, and counseling are "moral activities" (p. 61), and here she includes research as a moral activity. This shift to ethics/ideology helps open the door to "other voices" and new approaches--approaches that require self-reflection on one's own ideology and one's own intentions in engaging in research, either alone or with others. A possible frame to assist this reconceptualization is shown below using the language provided by Habermas for setting out types of knowledge:

A Proposed Research Intentionality Framework for Adult Education

Paradigms:	*Technical*	*Practical*	*Emancipatory*
Purpose	Understand & generalize	Understand/improve	Understand/redress
Nature	Deductive	Inductive	Inductive
Type	Empirical	Interpretive	Interpretive/critical
Unit of action	Individual(s)	Individuals/groups	Groups
Positionality	Control	Observe/collaborate	Interact
Interaction	Avoid	Encourage	Required
Methods (examples)	Experimental Quasi-experimental Descriptive	Grounded Theory Case Study Phenomenology Ethnography **Action Research**	**Transformative** **Participatory**

Here, critical self-reflection takes on dimensions of intent/ideology. Rather than beginning with: "What method is most suitable?" this frame begins with: "What is my purpose and my intent?", "Who will benefit from this research", "Who is posing the problem(s) and identifying the issue(s)?" However, despite our movement towards plurality, "Is adult education ready?" to more actively foster and legitimate research-in-practice?

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EDUCATIONAL GERONTOLOGY: COMPLETING THE ENTERPRISE

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Educational Gerontology has made significant advances in recent years but it is still the Cinderella of both Adult Education and Social Gerontology. This paper considers the contribution of Third Age perspectives on education to the perception of life-long learning.

Ces dernières années, la domaine d'éducation gérontologique a fait du progrès considérable. Pourtant, elle reste encore le pauvre parent de non seulement l'enseignement pour adultes mais aussi la gérontologie sociale. Ce papier s'addresse aux contributions des perspectives d'éducation du Troisième Age envers la perception d'apprendre toute la vie durant.

The speciality of Educational Gerontology has undergone considerable development in recent years, particularly since the early 1980's, when the World Congress on Ageing in Vienna (1983) focussed world-wide attention on the implications of the ageing[1] of populations. In Canada this attention was marked by the selection of the ageing of the population to be the theme for the first Canada Council Strategic Grants program. In spite of the interest in ageing generally however, Educational Gerontology still remains a minor field in the study of adult education, and indeed also in the concerns of social gerontologists.

This lack of recognition is perhaps not surprising. Gerontologists, in particular geriatricians, are primarily and appropriately concerned with the deficits and problems of ageing, and these matters are becoming ever more urgent in societies whose demographic profiles and dependency ratios are shifting dramatically towards the later years.[2] While it is true that this ageing shift is the result of such things as better nutrition and living conditions, and that the growing population of sixty- and seventy-year-olds are generally in better health and more independent until later in life, there is also a concomitant growth in the numbers of frail and dependent elderly, often dependent on their own children who are also entering their "retirement" years.[3] If we add the re-structuring of job markets and employment patterns to the effects of longer life expectancy, and the impact of early retirements and redundancies, we see that the image of the later years is changing dramatically. The Third Age, as the British demographic historian Peter Laslett has so graphically demonstrated, is indeed a new phenomenon.

While gerontologists deal with the problems of the later years, adult educators, on the other hand, still tend to focus most of their attention on the learning needs of the Second Age of life, the age of post-compulsory schooling, and on educational programs primarily related to work-force engagement and employment opportunities. This assertion is not intended to discount pre-retirement and preparation for retirement programs, but even they, as the naming itself suggests, are based on a certain concept of disengagement. In this paper, however, I want to propose the argument that Educational Gerontology and the perceptions of Educational Gerontologists are not merely an annex to the main concerns of adult educators, or indeed of social gerontologists, but that they are an essential part of the continuum of life-long learning, with a contribution to make that significantly affects the concept of learning throughout the life-course.

It would be useful at this point to tackle some definitions. In the first place, as I have suggested above, the Third Age has emerged as a new phenomenon in the sociology of the life course. Drawing on the work of the demographic historian Peter Laslett[4], the First Age can be defined as the period of "dependency, socialisation and education". It is in principle an age of dependency on parents, and on others such as teachers, and of preparation for what can, to use Eric Erickson's terminology, be called the generative years. The generative years are the Second Age, the age of "maturity, independence, and familial and social responsibility". These are the years when one is ideally occupationally engaged and making a direct contribution to society and also most likely raising one's own family. The Third Age, then, is defined as the period more commonly thought of as the retirement years. This is a lengthening period in human experience, a time of life during which one is no longer "employed" in earning a living, no longer responsible for raising a family, but still in relatively good health, self-supporting and independent. This is the age which, as Laslett has demonstrated, has become inserted between the Second Age, and what we may now therefore call the Fourth Age, the age of significant physical deficits and a return to dependency. As a working definition Laslett has suggested that the Third Age is present in a society when there is more than a fifty percent probability that those aged of 25 will reach the age of 70, and when at least ten percent of the population are at or over the age of 65.[5] This is not the place to go into the concerns of geriatrics, but ideally we should seek to maintain a satisfactory quality of life in the Third Age for as long as possible, so that the Fourth Age, a period of increasing decrepitude and ultimately death, should be therefore be brief.

The field of Educational Gerontology also needs to be defined, since the term has acquired a variety of related but differing connotations. It is useful, as the British Educational Gerontologist Frank Glendenning has suggested, to make a distinction between Educational Gerontology and Gerontological Education.[6] The term Gerontological Education, he has suggested, should be used for reference to the professional training of gerontologists and geriatricians; that is to say, those who work with the elderly and serve their needs. Educational Gerontology, which is the main concern of this paper, should then be used for adult educational programs for those in their later years; for example Elder Hostel and the Universities of the Third Age. Educational Gerontology also includes retirement preparation, and programs for the general population to promote the understanding of ageing and life in the later years as a dimension, and indeed completion, of the life-long learning continuum.

The term Educational Gerontology began to gain recognition in the United States in the 1970's, particularly with the launching of the journal *Educational Gerontology,* edited by D.Barry Lumsden, in 1976. The American journal has however taken in the broader, more generalised coverage referred to above, dealing both with older learners, and with professional education and training for those who work with the elderly. A British Journal, *The Journal of Educational Gerontology,* started under the editorship of Frank Glendenning of Keele University and Keith Percy of Lancaster in 1986, and recently (1994) renamed *Education and Ageing,* has focussed more on adult learning in the later years. Besides these journals, there are now many useful books to help establish the foundations for the field. To cite only a few examples, in 1978 Barry Lumsden, in association with Ronald Sherron, produced an edited collection, *Introduction to Educational Gerontology,* which included seminal pieces by many of the pioneers of the field, including David A. Peterson, Harry Moody, and Howard McClusky.[7] A second, enhanced edition, was published in 1985. Similarly, Frank Glendenning in the United Kingdom published his edited collection, *Educational Gerontology; International Perspectives,* in 1985.[8] David A. Peterson's *Facilitating Education for Older* Learners, came out in 1983.[9] In 1988 Martha Tyler John offered a contribution to the Pedagogy/Andragogy theme, with her *Geragogy: A Theory for Teaching the Elderly.*[10] These are just a few markers for the development of the study of learning in the later years

However, while the two journal publications noted above, together with a growing library of books, may be taken as signs that the field has acquired a certain level of self-conscious identity, as I have suggested earlier it still seems to receive scant recognition among adult educators or social gerontologists. For example, I have searched through the sixteen years of publication of the *Canadian Journal on Aging*, published by the Canadian Association on Gerontology, and found nothing, apart from items in the book review section, on Educational Gerontology as defined above. Similarly, the *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, in ten years of publication, has not touched on the topic. A wider search of a broader range of national and international journals in adult education which I made earlier revealed a similar dearth of notice.[11] Of course those profess to specialise in Educational Gerontology must bear some responsibility for this apparent neglect. But I suspect that the underlying reasons lie in the fact that education in and for the later years in some ways carries within it a contradiction to the main line thinking of both gerontology and adult education. It is indeed significant that Dorothy MacKeracher, in her contribution on Senior Learners to a recent collection of Canadian readings on adult education, has to assert the significance of her chapter, by pointing out that this topic concerns all of her readers very intimately.[12] Unlike those born in the earlier years of the century, experiencing a Third Age is now part of our common life expectation.

Adult Educators are of course familiar with, and have to contend with, the mindset that all real education takes place in the formative years of childhood and youth, and that much of whatever learning takes place after maturity has been attained is essentially remedial. We have worked long to marshall the arguments that learning, although it may occur in different ways as time goes on, is a lifelong process. Life-span developmental psychology, notably in the work of researchers such as K. Warner Schaie,[13] has helped to break educational psychology out of the straight-jacket of "school age" learning. Indeed we have fought long for the principle that for both individual and societal reasons, the management of learning must encompass more than the traditional parameters of formal education.[14] But I submit that, while we promote the principle of life-long learning not only as a fundamental right but also a very critical social necessity, we still have not yet come to grips with the idea of "the end of learning". What is the role of learning in the very late years? In many cases the perception seems to have been that we simply move from remedial learning, to palliative care; or, as a British report once felicitously put it, to "tea, bingo and condescension".[15] Indeed one argument for increasing support for third age learning entitlements has been that education for Seniors promotes and maintains independence, and thus has a prophylactic value by shifting, or postponing the growing burden on health care; in other words, the case is made on medical rather than purely educational grounds. Although this idea intuitively makes sense and may indeed be valid, however, there has been very little work to substantiate it[16].

I have introduced a deliberate *double entendre* in my reference above to "the end of education", because I believe that we need to come to an understanding that the ends, as in the domain of Educational Gerontology, have much to tell us about the justification of the means, as in the structure of lifelong learning. If we truly believe in lifelong learning as a principle, as a right, and as an essential individual and social process, then the means involved to reach the ends of the process must surely take into account the nature and purposes of learning in the later years. Moreover, structuring education to ensure that later learning is appropriately engaged, surely has implications for the kinds of learning that precede the later years. Later learning is the completion of the educational enterprise. Our task then is to work out a philosophy of later learning, an educational gerontology, that takes us beyond the remedial and the palliative, into a recognition of the role that "Seniors" will play, as they surpass Laslett's 10% of the population benchmark for the "arrival" of the Third Age, and move towards 20% or even higher.[17]

Some aspects of the Third Age stand out very clearly. For example, while education for citizenship is clearly one of the justifications for universal education during the First Age, those in the Third Age already have the franchise. Indeed the society of the day is very largely their own creation. Their generation has provided the workforce and the leadership, has experienced and may take some credit for the successes, and indeed must also live with and take some responsibility for the failures (environmental degradation, political instabilities, accumulated debt burdens?). What is not so clearly recognised is that during their own years of socialisation, this generation did not for the most part foresee the emergence of the phenomenon of a Third Age, an age during which they would have time to validate those successes and draw conclusions from the failures. Today's Third-Agers are therefore involved in the process of creating a new definition for the social space of the years between 60/65 and 80/85 or so. Though nobody would suggest that one needs to be formally qualified for admission to the Third Age (i.e. on the analogy of compulsory formal schooling as a preparation for maturity), there is certainly a learning element involved here.

It is not surprising therefore that Seniors are indeed becoming more insistent on their rights to educational services. For example we have seen the phenomenal growth of the concept of the Universities of the Third Age, developing as mutual aid institutions, initiated by Seniors themselves, with self defined roles.[18] Many other examples of local Seniors' learning co-operatives are emerging, dedicated not only to enrichment activities rather than bingo and condescension, but also to advocacy and the representation of Seniors' concerns. There is thus, besides learning needs, a strong element of teaching needs in Third Age activities, based on the assertion that besides the need to learn how to cope with the social changes of the Third Age, Seniors, because of their experience, have much to offer, and therefore need to find ways in which to express their continuing contribution. One interesting aspect of this is expressed in programs such as Between Generations, which link the later years with the earlier years, thus rounding out a continuous learning cycle. Thus the image of education, instead of following a trajectory that runs in a unilinear fashion from primary schooling for all, to secondary schooling for most, to university education for some (at which point it reaches some sort of notional completion) becomes a lifelong continuing cycle in which the later years play a very significant part.

Beginning sometime in the late middle ages, when population growth began its ever accelerating upward climb, education has become increasingly associated with the younger generations who have swelled the base of a population pyramid. In the late twentieth century, and as we enter upon the twentieth-first, the pyramid is beginning to take on the more uniform profile of a pillar, narrowing at the base while it broadens at the top. Lifelong education becomes a participatory social activity in which the needs and contributions of the Third Age have a very significant stake. Educational Gerontologists have the task of completing the new structure, so that lifelong learning continues not only through each individual's life-course, but also through the generations of a learning society.

1. The spelling 'ageing', which seems to have gained currency in international English, is used excepting in cases where 'aging' is the adopted spelling of a particular reference.

2. See Frank Denton et al., "The Future Population of Canada, Its Age Distribution and Dependency Relations", *Canadian Journal on Aging,* Vol.17, No.1, Spring 1998, pp.83-109, for a very recent analysis of the Canadian ageing trends.

3. See *Caregivers,* a five part series by the National Film Board of Canada, 1997, Dan Curtis, Director, for a sensitive exploration of this topic. Handbook to the series by Shelly Happy is published by the London Inter-Community Health Centre, London, Ontario.

4. Peter Laslett, *A Fresh Map of Life: The Emergence of the Third Age,* 1989, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, pp. 140 ff..

5. Laslett, *op. cit.* p.85

6. Frank Glendenning, "What is educational gerontology?: North American and British Definitions", Ch. 2 in Frank Glendenning, ed. *Educational Gerontology: International Perspectives,* Croom Helm, 1985, pp.31ff.

7. R.H.Sherron & D.B.Lumsden, *Introduction to Educational Gerontology,* Hemisphere, 1978, 2nd. Ed. 1985.

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9. David A. Peterson, *Facilitating Education for Older Adults,* Jossey-Bass, 1983

10. Martha Tyler John, *Geragogy: A Theory for Teaching the Elderly,* Haworth, 1988

11. David Radcliffe, "Including the Third Age: the New Map of Education", paper delivered at Keele University, UK, July 1997. publication forthcoming.

12. Dorothy MacKeracher, "Senior Learners: Optimising the Learning Community", Ch.21 in Sue M. Scott, Bruce Spencer, & Alan Thomas, eds, *Learning for Life: Canadian Readings in Adult Education,* Thompson, 1988

13. K.Warner Schaie & James Geiwitz, *Adult Development and Aging,* Little, Brown, 1982

14. Alan M.Thomas, *Beyond Education: A New Perspective on Society's Management of Learning,* Jossey-Bass, 1991.

15. Geoff Buckingham, et al., *Beyond Tea, Bingo and Condescension,* Report of Task Force with community groups of pensioners, Beth Johnson Foundation, U.K., 1979

16. Frank Glendenning, "Why Educational Gerontology is not yet Established as a field of Study: Some Critical Implications", *Education and Ageing,* Vol 12, Nos.½, Nov. 1997, pp.82-91

17. Denton et al. *Op.cit.*

18. Eric Midwinter, *Mutual Aid Universities,* Croom Helm, 1984. His *Age is Opportunity: education and older people,* Centre for Policy on Ageing, London, 1982, is also a thoughtful booklet.

THE ROLE AND INFLUENCE OF CULTURE AND CONTEXT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE AMONG ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT PRACTITIONERS

RESULTS OF PHASE 1: "MISSIONARIES, MARTYRS OR CHANGE AGENTS?"

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Abstract:

This paper explores preliminary findings from a longer-term study on the development of communities of practice among widely distributed OD practitioners. It highlights some of the issues arising from the experiences of organizers, facilitators and participants in this international program, based in Africa, and designed to support the development of a cadre of OD practitioners across that continent.

Introduction

This paper is based on the observations, reflections, issues and questions arising from the experiences of participants, facilitators, mentors and organizers in a 2-year (1995-97) international program which provided in-depth, and professionally accredited Organization Development training to 61 African consultants from 19 countries across the sub-Saharan region.[1] A majority of these participants, as well as the organizers and program facilitators have agreed to engage with the researchers in a longitudinal reflective exploration of what has been and can be learned from this intensive experience. The summary presented here is intended as an interim report arising from preliminary data gathered as part of a longer-term study on the linkages between intensive group-based learning experiences and socially-situated learning processes, such as those described as "communities of practice" (Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Orr, 1990; Wenger, 1996).

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[1] We would like to acknowledge and thank the program's funders, EZE (*Evangelische Zentralstelle fur Entwicklungshilfe* /Protestant Association for Development Cooperation) and GTZ (*Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit* /German Technical Cooperation) for their financial support and ongoing interest in this research. Our work would not have been possible without the personal support, enthusiasm and generosity of Martin Harder (GTZ) and Marion Keil (EZE), and we are particularly grateful for the input of all of the participants and facilitators who have agreed to engage with us in reflecting on and learning from their experiences in this program. We would also like to express our gratitude to Carol Lynn Pass (Montreal) for conducting intensive interviews with the French-speaking participants, and Catherine Gibson (Toronto) for her support and assistance in the literature search and data analysis.

Both sponsoring agencies (GTZ and EZE) are well-established and widely known in the field of international development. The decision to sponsor an in-depth program to build up a cadre of OD practitioners in the sub-Saharan region was driven by three major factors. The first was the observation that attempts at improving organizational effectiveness tended to be limited to interventions such as leadership/management training, and/or more technical approaches such as improving accounting systems and personnel administration processes. These approaches often resulted in strengthening the formal side of the client organizations, but had limited long-term effectiveness, since they left the "real life" issues to continue backstage, deeply rooted in the prevailing culture.

Secondly, interventions brought about by European OD consultants had been very helpful to African partner agencies/projects on various occasions; however, it was difficult to find similarly qualified OD consultants in that region. Finally, each of these two agencies had independently sponsored OD training on a smaller scale, and that experience confirmed their views that indigenous OD practitioners are more appropriate and have much greater potential to help African organizations to achieve their goals than "outsiders," despite the fact that OD is largely founded in European and North American organizational experience[2]. It was decided that the next step was to attempt to establish a wider network of African OD consultants in the under-serviced sub-Saharan region. The organizers' intention was to sow the seeds of a professional community which would become self-supporting, and which would develop its own unique "African-brand" approaches to organization development.

With some variations, the participants and facilitators of this intensive international program encountered the same types of issues and conflicts as any similar set of participants and facilitators in European or North American settings would. There were concerns about participant motivation (should participant expenses have been fully paid by the donor agencies, or should participants have been fully self-funded?). Questions were raised about participant selection and experience, (should there have been a better mix of private sector and NGO/or church-based participants?). Participants were not all "consultants", some were trainers and/or administrators, (did they really understand what they were getting into?). Facilitators came from various countries, mostly Europe, and had never worked together before. (how did that affect the dynamics?). There were four, one-month modules, as well as regional meetings and mentoring in between, (was the program design and duration appropriate?). And so on.

Any effective program evaluation on any continent would be well advised to follow up on all of these questions as well as others. However, there are also a number of very unique and important *systemic* issues which emerged, and which point to the need for further debate and exploration of international and cross-cultural initiatives in the realm of OD. For the purposes of this paper we have highlighted a few.

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[2] For notable exceptions see the discussion of Collier's work in India during the 1930's (French and Bell, 1984); and Schein's early work in China (1950's), cited in Cooke (1997).

As pointed out by Cooke (1997), there are many common, complex and subtle historical connections between methodologies invented for economic and participatory social intervention, or "Development," and the intra-organizationally focused, "management discipline" of Organization Development, or OD. However, in reviewing the documentation, as well as the interview accounts collected to date, there were some excellent examples of how these interrelated roots have the potential to grow; and become even more productive. There were also a number of issues which illustrated the need to engage in a more open dialogue about whether or not it is even possible to apply or practice "OD" in Africa in the same ways as it is in the "North" (as African consultants tended to refer to Europe and North America). Admittedly, even here in the "North," the business of learning how to be an OD practitioner, is extremely difficult; and this despite the fact that there seem to be more congruencies between the empowering and essentially democratic approaches advocated by OD, and the prevailing culture, at least in comparison with what seems to be the case in African countries to date. [3]

Research Approach

As North American researchers, we are sensitive to the possibility of unconscious bias in our analysis and account of the broadly international/intercontinental group involved in this program (Brock-Utne, 1996). We are also interested in encouraging ongoing dialogue and learning among OD practitioners in general. Equally important, we felt that our approach needed to model or parallel OD values, including: an emphasis on action research; the use of data for collective awareness-raising; problem-solving in collaboration with all stakeholders; and building participant capabilities for continuous learning. Added to this is the growing awareness that both institutional and individual actors often face complex choices with important moral dimensions, and there is an urgent need to articulate these dimensions more clearly in OD work as well as development work in general (Hamelink, 1997). As a result we have attempted to encourage as much participation and collaboration as time and geographic constraints allow (see endnote for more detail.)'

The data collected to date was thematically analysed (Glaser, 1978; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and surfaced a variety of themes and questions, some of which have already been mentioned. In the following section we have chosen to highlight the more complex and systemic themes linked to international and cross-cultural OD initiatives.

This theme subsumes several sub-themes related to cross-cultural development of practitioners; process versus expert consultation; and the challenge of bridging the gap between "espoused theory" and "theory in use" (Argyris & Schön 1976) in both teaching and OD practice.

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[3] For further elaboration on this issue see: Thompson, 1995; Billis & MacKeith, 1992; Hodson, 1992; O'Hara-Devereaux & Johansen, 1994.

Teaching OD as a Systemic-level Intervention

Based on their extensive knowledge and experience, the sponsors of this program made a bold and ambitious decision to support the establishment of a cadre of African OD consultants. It was a bold decision not just because the logistics were daunting, but because they were aware that the participatory and democratic values inherent in OD practice are largely in direct opposition to deeply established patterns of hierarchy, bureaucracy and a tradition of paternalistic management practice. One organizer commented that:

> ...I think OD can be of a certain help to reduce the contradictions between African values and cultures and the organizations they have. The only model they have is bureaucracy, most businesses are formalistic. There are some contradictions—they have very complex large family systems which get along well. (But) they move these into formal, rigid organizations and it's a complete mess. That's where the potential is. OD can bring this out...it can open access to the organizational capacity which they have and don't use.

The sponsoring organizations consciously chose to intervene at a systems level (in this case across a variety of countries in sub-Saharan Africa), in a way which was respectful of the values, wisdom and strength of the culture(s) involved, and recognized that they were introducing a body of knowledge and skill which is essentially counter-cultural (Divine & Dimock; 1996; Stone & Williams; 1996). Although they took into account the moral and ethical risks represented, (Dere, 1997; Hamelink, 1997) but the intervention raises some ethical issues.

The field of OD, in both its genesis and present-day practice, is counter cultural even in North America and Europe where it originated. It promotes a set of client-centred principles and values which directly confront traditional beliefs in consulting "expertise" and the efficacy of hierarchical organization design and functioning (Burke, 1995; Walters, 1990). Philosophically speaking, its closest ally is the "andragogical" approach in the field of Adult Education (Friere, 1974; Knowles, 1984) which promotes learner-centred versus teacher-centred educational values. Both of these fields emphasize drawing from the expertise of the clients or learners, and support a strong belief in their ability to establish their own agenda for either individual learning or organizational change. Within these paradigms the teacher or consultant is no longer the professional expert who collects data, constructs a diagnosis and proposes recommendations for action. The process consultant of OD (Schein, 1987; Block, 1981) and the transformative adult educator (Brookfield, 1987; Cranton, 1996; Mezirow, 1991) conceives the role as facilitative, enabling, and respectful of the needs and expertise of the client.

Inherent in the decision to use counter-cultural material along with experiential and participatory facilitation methods, is the risk of losing the participants' willingness to engage. This risk can be mitigated in European and North American contexts where there is less dissonance between prevailing organizational/societal norms and adult learning approaches. In fact, only one or two participants dropped out of the Africa program, for reasons which are unclear, but related to initial interpersonal conflicts. Of the rest, many participants referred to their extreme discomfort, especially in the first and second modules, when facilitators introduced techniques such as guided imagery, physical movement and lengthy, "open" dialogue about group process, especially conflict and gender issues. It is doubtful whether effective OD practices can be learned without engaging in intense learning of this kind. Nevertheless, the larger question, still to be debated, is: given the leap required for the participants, to what extent will they be capable, in turn, of transposing the learning to daily life among people and within contexts where these ideas and approaches are still so foreign?

Dependency Orientation vs Andragogical Methods

At the individual/interpersonal level, the dissonance between the prevailing culture and the learning processes being advocated was writ large. Both OD and andragogy would have the consultant/facilitator be "client-centred" - that is, to begin the relationship with the client's location in the content and the process. However, if the learners, having been schooled in traditional "teacher-centred" environments, present an essentially dependent learning orientation, the notion of "client-centredness" flies in the face of this dependency expectation. The facilitators found that as they tried to model client-centredness, they were challenging strongly-held beliefs about the teacher-learner relationship. If, on the other hand, the facilitators began with a directive or didactic approach, as the dependency demand implies, then they were contravening the very values which both the content and process of the program intended to embody. As expressed by one of the facilitators: "They didn't understand what I was meant to do at first. It was astonishing to them, not their model of how to learn."

The program content conveyed the principles and practices of OD, while the process was grounded in the belief that the professional experience and interests of the participants would help shape the program; that participants would play a key role in integrating the course content into their own context (in this case an African one); and that the facilitators and participants would behave as co-learners[4]. It both presented and *represented* counter-cultural approaches and processes of learning. The result, as a participant noted, was an overwhelming and unsettling confrontation of deeply held values and beliefs:

> ...I got a new conviction and a new discovery about empowerment. In our rural development area we can support people, back farmers' initiatives. But we don't allow them to be empowered. You can give initiatives, and at the same time, destroy them. For me this was a big insight. It was a revelation. It was fundamental.

Another stated,

> ...I would say my beliefs were enriched, because I share the values of OD. I share the belief in the need to share the ownership of change. The need to own it and I have always cherished these values, but lacked the tools.

A third put it this way:

> ...I have realized that it is not just content. It is how we work together. That, for me, is really important. You are the means to the end. That has changed a lot in my life. I have problems now

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[4] These principles are paraphrased from the brochure inviting candidates to apply for the program.

> relating to people who are dictatorial, hierarchical. I have difficulties fitting into those systems. I'm more inquisitive, and that bothers established systems a lot.

However, it is important to note here that the participants, for the most part, both adapted to, and *adopted* the increasing amount of control and democracy that they were offered in the learning process. In reflecting on the impact of the program, one of the facilitators remarked: "When I think about how they were at the beginning, and now some of them--I don't even recognize them. Especially some of the women". The implications of this statement become clear when one considers the fact that these participants were often realigning their values in isolation from their spouses, children, and extended family who were not anticipating the personal changes their loved ones were experiencing. In fact, one of the French-speaking participants spoke at length about the deep impact of this learning on his personal life, especially on his relationship with his wife and family.

As with many adult learners, the learning process triggered important changes for some individuals. The issue we would like to highlight however, is that as much as deep insights can be liberating, they can also be alienating. Given the African context previously outlined, it is as yet unclear whether or not the families, friends, and work colleagues of these learners will be supportive and nurturing of the changes once the participants are back home, and to what extent these changes will be useful or lasting in the longer-term.

Classroom Democracy or "Real life" Democracy?

This issue surfaced throughout the program, as participants and facilitators struggled with the question of "how much democracy should exist in the classroom?" A parallel question was frequently raised: "to what extent could I as a consultant actually encourage my clients to collectively decide their course of action?" Similarly, while a few facilitators believed strongly that the facilitator must "take charge at all times", they also struggled with their own values regarding empowerment, as evidenced in reflections such as:

> It was so contradictory-- they wanted more learning, less freedom, more structure...but it was so necessary for them to take charge."
>
> "For me it was hard not to be a 'teacher' in this capacity. They also wanted me very much to be a teacher. They wanted personal feedback from me, it was very important to them to hear what the 'teacher' was saying.

The "espoused theory" (Argyris & Schön, 1976) of self determination, in both the teaching/learning enterprise as well as in the organization development content which was being learned, was directly challenged by the reality of both contexts which invoked a "theory-in-use" of the teacher or consultant as resident expert. This created for the facilitators and learners a tension in the classroom which was be replicated as the participants moved into their inter-module practicum experiences, as well as their professional lives in the workplace.

Inter-module regional meetings with an external mentor were designed to provide a forum to explore such issues and to encourage the development of professionally supportive relationships among group members. At this stage, the feedback indicates that the regional groups will not, for the most part, continue to meet. There are many reasons for this, including group composition, distances, and costs. Again, the more systemic question must be raised: given the distances between them, the costs of meeting, and the lack of access to communication tools such as Internet, to what extent can these practitioners continue to support one another on fundamental issues in their work?

OD Training as Social Intervention

The over-riding issue in this paper is whether or not the participants will be able to sustain their work as OD practitioners effectively, given the contexts in which they work and live. On a positive note, a facilitator pointed out: "The group has developed so much-- they became distanced from the world, and more able to separate themselves from their situations". However, it was back to their unchanged situations that these learners were bringing their new insights regarding self-determination and empowerment. As a facilitator observed: "Everything grows wildly in Africa and it is difficult to disentangle the influences. In Harare, for example, I had the impression that I was working against the entire culture".

There is no simple way to describe the culture(s) currently existing in Africa; however, in European and North American eyes, it is a culture of extremes - where war, illness and death are more dominant than we imagine (Thomas-Slater, 1994; Thompson, 1995). Several of the program participants reminded facilitators that African cultures emphasize collectivity, and for some; co-dependency. As one participant plainly explained, those who have additional training or professional development are, in return, burdened with additional expectations: "...someone gets back (from studying) and the rest of the family makes it clear that this person is to support them for the rest of their lives."

In many cases these consultants will, no doubt, find fertile ground for their work, and will also find and create the personal and professional support they require. With the help of the sponsors, they have already established a Pan-African OD Association which will provide participants with a basic form of linkage with one another. But the geographic distances between them are great, and other types of professional support systems are almost non-existent. Without wishing to be negatively provocative, we would suggest that more dialogue and research is needed in order to illuminate the advantages and disadvantages of educational interventions at a large-scale international and social system level. Does this type of approach develop missionaries, martyrs or skillful change agents? On a daily basis, how can and will these professionals cope with the inevitable contradictions and conflicting values between their training and their work life reality? How will they ensure that their professionalism continues to be renewed? How can OD educators ensure the critical "transfer of learning" when the context to which one is transferring is so antithetical to what has been learned? On the other hand, how can an OD professional hold any hope of championing organizational and social change, unless this transfer of learning takes place?

In the second phase of this research we will examine the growth and emergence of “communities of practice" (Wenger, 1996) as one dynamic response to these questions. This phase will address the link between intensive group-based learning experiences and the development of lasting and meaningful collaborative relationships among professionals who work in widely distributed settings as a way of providing support for the transfer of learning. Some of the issues raised in this exploration will include the extent of need for physical proximity and similarity of organizational context; knowledge diffusion and the extent to which technology can play a role in it; as well as the influences of culture, history, context and media on developing communities of practice. The intent is to further illuminate the dimensions of the relationship and dynamics which link collective learning, identify development, and the evolution of "practice" in the context of day-to-day work experience..

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[1] Our research questions and design were validated by both the African participants and the European sponsors /coordinators/facilitators of the program. With a consensus that our questions would surface information critical to all of those involved, we proceeded to interview, both individually and in focus groups, 28 English-speaking and 21 French-speaking participants; 4 facilitators (including one of the researchers who also acted in this role); one woman who served in a "mentoring" function for the regional groups; and the two sponsors/coordinators. Additional data included facilitators' written reports, program content materials, video-tape of participant focus groups, and program evaluations. The participants have agreed to maintain learning journals for one year immediately following their completion of the program, and have agreed to give us access to their final written papers and presentation summaries. Follow-up interviews and focus groups will be held with respondents in September, 1998. Our analyses of the data will be consistently cycled back to the research participants for their input and elaboration, and will hopefully contribute to their on-going reflective learning.

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Éléments de la formation à la pratique réflexive de cadres soignants

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Résumé
Les cadres intermédiaires soignants hospitaliers sont des manager d'équipe. Le but de cette étude est de définir les éléments d'un modèle de formation à la pratique réflexive qui les aide à maîtriser des compétences génériques.Par le biais d'une synthèse critique d'écrits nous en avons définis quatorze que nous avons regroupés selon six catégories.

Abstract
Middle-managers need generic comptency for managing team care. The goal of the study is to define composant of reflectvie practice's training model for master seems competency. By critical synthesis's articles we identify fourteen components and we regroup them in six sategory.

Introduction

Le but de notre étude est de définir les éléments d'un modèle de formation à la pratique réflexive (FPR) du cadre intermédiaire soignant hospitalier (CISH). À partir d'écrits théoriques et empiriques , nous avons d'abord repéré les principaux axes des rôles du CISH dans la situation de soins à l'hôpital universitaire. Ensuite nous avons établi une liste d'éléments à considérer pour une FPR de CISH, qui aiderait ce dernier à accomplir ses rôles et à construire sa nouvelle identité socioprofessionnelle. Nous avons alors interrogé des écrits apparentés à des courants principaux de FPR.

Au titre de résultats de la synthèse des écrits nous présentons d'abord les caractéristiques du rôle du CISH. Ensuite nous présentons les résultats de l'analyse des écrits dans la perspective des dix éléments que nous avons considérés essentiels pour sa FPR. Enfin nous dessinons le schéma d'un modèle de FPR de CISH qui comprend quatorze éléments regroupés dans six catégories à valences discipinaires différentes.

1. Les caractéristiques du rôle du cadre soignant

Dans le nouvel hôpital universitaire la présence d'acteurs de plus de cent vingt cinq métiers, l'équilibration des pouvoirs et la restructuration en cours entraînent de l'incertitude, des conflits et des dysfonctionnements (Arendt et Duchemin, 1993). Le CISH est le chef de l'équipe multiprofessionnelle de l'unité de soins, qui est la structure de base de l'hôpital. Il se contruit une identité socioprofessionnelle par l'exercice de différents rôles, managériaux surtout. Il est un intermédiaire entre des acteurs aux différentes logiques professionnelles, chacune ayant ses valeurs propres, ses priorités et ses langages, et de divers niveaux hiérarchiques (Jettey et Orsaf, 1988 ; Johnson et d'Argenio, 1991). Dans plusieurs points d'ancrage il assume plusieurs responsabilités: manager d'équipe, formateur-relais, facilitateur de la dynamique de projet d'hôpital (Baldenweck, 1993 ; Coudray, 1993; Deschamps, 1994 ; Honoré, 1992). Par la place centrale qu'il occupe et le lien privilégié qu'il entretient avec un chacun, il est le régulateur central du système -hôpital (Maisons, 1993) .

Mais le CISH demeure prisonnier d'un style managérial intériorisé plutôt que réfléchi, qui est hérité de la culture bureaucratique hospitalière (Mintzberg, 1994). Très occupé dans des activités managériales et cliniques complexes , il a peu de temps pour réfléchir sur sa pratique et discuter avec ses collègues, il n'a pas été non plus formé à la pratique réflexive (PR). Pourtant il doit savoir tirer les leçons de l'expérience, analyser sa pratique, la remettre en question, ainsi que celle des soignants de l'équipe, et laisser émerger son sens (Everson-Bates, 1992 ; Deschamps, 1994). C'est que la fonction du CISH, de diagnostic et de contrôle surtout, porte sur le processus; elle est parmi les plus complexe . Sa formation doit être axée sur la PR qui est une composante essentielle de sa pratique (Rowan 1994 ; Saylor, 1990) .

2. Les axes de la formation à la pratique réflexive des cadres soignants

Pour qu'il y ait passage à l'acte éclairé, réfléchi, préparé, la FPR du CISH doit être menée dans le cadre d'un projet d'hôpital et être intégrative de toutes les pratiques aujourd'hui en changement. Insérée dans une approche globale, elle permet, par le dialogue, de concilier entre les logiques professionnelles (Honoré, 1992). Aussi elle aide à réviser les habitudes et favorise une dynamique de changement des relations et des structures bureaucratiques de l'hôpital (Schön, 1994). Menée de façon progressive et prenant en compte le contexte hospitalier et la situation dans l'unité de soins, elle favorise l'ancrage des nouvelles capacités obtenues afin qu'elles deviennent opérationnelles.

Selon Coudray (1993) , Deschamps (1994) et Honoré (1992) l'exercice du rôle de manager soulève des questions d'éthique pour le CISH et l'introduction d'une rupture par rapport à la pratique de soins est possible en questionnant ses fondements implicites (Johns, 1996). Pour James et Clarke (1994) et Saylor (1990) la PR mène à réfléchir sur des questions personnelles et éthiques. Elle développe l'autonomie professionnelle et la capacité à émettre des jugements. Il est important, par la FPR, de développer chez le cadre intermédiaire des capacités génériques (Kanungo et Misra, 1992), des capacités d'analyse des situations de travail en milieu hospitalier, des moyens de conduire des projets par l'acquisition de "méthodologies" adaptées et des capacités d'abstraction, de polyvalence et d'expression, ce qui exige un minimum de formation générale. Il s'agit également de veiller à ce que le CISH acquière les savoirs théoriques et techniques propres aux métiers de cadres paramédicaux de proximité (Chochina, 1994 ; Gerard, 1992; Laporte, 1994) . D'après Powell (1989) et Deschamps (1994), la PR favorise le lien entre théorie et pratique et l'utilisation de connaissances de soins et d'autres disciplines. Elle permet aux soignants d'apprendre à partir de leur travail, de capitaliser les savoirs tacites. De plus, l'accompagnement des formateurs dans une démarche de découverte, de collecte d'informations et de savoirs pratiques, d'interprétation des situations, de conceptualisation des faits observés au coeur des situations réelles de travail et dans l'acquisition de méthodologies de travail , suppose qu'ils s'emparent du travail comme axe central de la formation et l'étudient en permanence (Chochina, 1994 ; Goudeaux *et al.*, 1994 ; Laporte , 1994) . Ils aident à construire le lien entre les savoirs produits par l'exécution du travail et les savoirs théoriques qui y correspondent, ainsi que dans le travail de recherche de ce lien, afin de l'inscrire en termes de compréhension et d'objectivation (Deschamps, 1994).

Faciliter le changement à l'hôpital est un processus managérial vécu dans l'émotion par le CISH (Everson-Bates, 1992) et la gestion d'une mutation, de soignant à manager , avec des étapes de deuil déstabilisantes, constitue une des difficultés de sa formation (Chochina, 1994 ; Deschamps, 1994). Par ailleurs le collectif de travail favorise des situations d'auto-formation et d'interformation entre les praticiens et l'acquisition d'un langage commun pour des situations de dialogue et des attitudes de coopération (Moriceau, 1993 ; Mucchielli, 1993; Orafiamma, 1987). Ceci permet de développer une vision commune dans la pluralité (Chochina, 1994) et d'améliorer la communication et la circulation de l'information au sein de l'équipe soignante (Le Helley, 1990).

La PR nécessite aussi un environnement sain, dans lequel les praticiens peuvent réfléchir sur leur travail et partager leurs perceptions et inquiétudes sans crainte d'être évalués (Saylor, 1990), et des structures dans lesquelles elle peut être encouragée (James et Clarke, 1994). Un dispositif andragogique est pertinent dans la mesure où il facilite l'apprentissage des apprenants, les activités d'accompagnement et l'implication des formateurs, l'articulation formation et travail , et qu'il favorise une dynamique qui crée du lien et du sens entre les actes et les objectifs et encourage l'esprit d'initiative (Goudeaux et *al.*, 1994 ; Laporte, 1994 ; Le Helley, 1990).

Ainsi, la FPR doit être ouverte sur le contexte hospitalier, aider à accompagner le changement et la question éthique préoccupe plusieurs chercheurs. De même la mise en question de la pratique, la maîtrise d'outils cognitifs et de capacités génériques, l'articulation théorie-pratique-formation-recherche et la complémentarité de la culture générale et de la culture professionnelle préoccupent les mileux de FPR et soignants. Il est aussi important de considérer les éléments suivants: construction de l'identité socioprofessionnelle, accompagnement, apprentissage en groupe et en collectif de travail et dispositifs andragogiques dans la FPR de CISH. Bien pensée, la FPR offre des réponses à des questions posées en regard de ces éléments. Donc, à ce niveau de développement, au total dix éléments sont à considérer en FPR de CISH.

3. Les résultats de l'examen des écrits et leur interprétation

Nous avons soumis à l'examen les écrits de Daval (praxéologue), Honoré (socio-existentialiste, Kolb (l'apprentissage expérientiel), Malglaive (sociocognitiviste), Schön (science-actionniste) et St-Arnaud (qui veut concilier la praxéologie et la science-action) dans la perspective des dix éléments que nous avons considérés essentiels pour la FPR de CISH . Par ordre décroissant du nombre d'occurences, les éléments se présentent par ordre croissant d'importance comme suit:

Tabl. 1 : Résultats: % de réponses relatives aux dix éléments de FPR du CISH

	Élément	**ratio**
1.	dispositifs andragogiques	33,3 %
2	apprentissage en groupe et en collectif de travail	37,5 %
3.	ouverture à de nouvelles valeurs et éthique	45,8 %
4.	construction de l'identité socioprofessionnelle	46,7 %
5.	accompagnement à la FCPR	58,3 %
5.	accompagnement du changement	58,3 %
7.	mise en question de la pratique	66,7 %
7.	articulation théorie-pratique-formation-recherche, culture générale et professionnelle	66,7 %
9.	maîtrise des outils cognitifs et de capacités génériques	70,0 %
10.	contextualisation de l'apprentissage	79,3 %
	Total	**57,93 %**

La lecture des informations figurant dans le tableau amène des observations. Les éléments obtiennent des occurences de manière inégale. Mais les résultats montrent que nous pouvons effectivement puiser dans les écrits des six chercheurs pour atteindre les dix éléments du modèle projeté de FPR. Par ailleurs le ratio faible obtenu par les quatre premiers éléments et les résultats d'ensemble nous suggèrent de repérer, dans des écrits d'autres chercheurs, des idées pour que touts les éléments soient bien couverts. L'étude des écrits nous suggère aussi d'ajouter l'élément "formalisation des savoirs", vu l'importance que lui accordent en FPR Malglaive et Honoré en particulier .

Ainsi, le modèle de FPR à construire serait un modèle mixte qui puise dans les écrits des six chercheurs et qui intègre les résultats de l'examen critique. Il puiserait aussi dans des réponses apportées par d'autres chercheurs, quand elles sont appropriées à la situation objet de ce travail.

3. Représentation schématique du modèle

Les onze éléments du modèle peuvent être regroupés selon cinq sous-systèmes à valences psychosociale (dimensions no 2, 5), psycho-cognitive (no 8, 11), andragogique (no 3, 9 ,10),
praxéologique empirique (no 1, 6) et 5. et sociologique (no 4, 7).

valence	**dimension**
psychosociale	2. l'apprentissage en groupe et en collectif de travail
	5. la construction de l'identité socioprofessionnelle
psycho-cognitive	8. la maîtrise des outils cognitifs et de capacités génériques
	11. la formalisation des savoirs
	3. les structures et des dispositifs andragogiques
andragogique	9. la contextualisation de l'apprentissage
	10. l'articulation théorie-pratique-formation-recherche
praxéologique empirique	1. l'accompagnement à la FCPR
	6. la mise en question de la pratique
sociologique	4. l'ouverture à de nouvelles valeurs et à l'éthique
	7. l'accompagnement du changement

Fig. 1: Regroupement selon valence des onze dimensions du modèle de FPR de CISH

Un sixième sous-système de pilotage à trois éléments est à inclure pour l'harmonisation du tout (Peyré, 1990). Le tout baigne dans un système de formation continue de l'hôpital ouvert à l'environnement hospitalier , défini dans le cadre d'un projet collectif de santé . Le modèle de FPR étant ouvert, chacun des sous-systèmes est ancré à l'hôpital, ancrage principal, comme il est en relation avec des parties collaboratrices, ancrage secondaire. Ce peut être une institution de formation, un institut ou un centre de recherche, des institutions administratives ou des organismes associatifs ou communautaires.

Le modèle de FPR projeté est un système à complexité organisée (Boulding, 1988) qui est située autant dans l'objet (FPR) que dans le sujet (CISH) et dans le rapport qui lie le sujet à l'objet, le CISH à sa FPR. Pour démonstration de ces propos, des éléments ont été définis dans une démarche interdisciplinaire. Le modèle, systémique ouvert, est actualisé aux développements nouveaux en FPR .

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THE HIDDEN DIMENSIONS OF WORKING-CLASS LEARNING

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Abstract: Much educational research has overlooked documentation and analysis of the actual array of learning projects in which working-class people are informally engaged. Our research project has a core thesis which claims that working-class informal learning capacities — which are typically denigrated — are similar to those found within more advantaged groups.

Résumé: La recherche en éducation n'a pas réussi à saisir la gamme réelle des pratiques d'apprentissage formel, nonformel et informel de la classe ouvrière. Basée sur une recherche à grande échelle, la thèse principale de cet article reside dans le fait que l'apprentissage au sein de la classe ouvrière a été généralement nié, supprimé et détourné dans une hégémonie éducationnelle capitaliste.

The denial or ignorance of major dimensions of working-class learning contribute to the persistence of a tendency to equate learning with middle-class dominated forms of schooling and further education. We need to go beyond this narrow notion, to see learning in its full social, material and historical context.

For any scholars that have cared to make the observation (e.g. Thompson, 1963; Freire, 1970; Spencer, 1998) learning has always been a persistent feature of working-class life while at the same time, one which predominantly takes place beneath the surface of dominant notions of learning.

The "Working-class Learning Strategies in Transition: Home and Union-based Perspectives" project (WCLS)* sought to discover the actual character and range of the learning practices of working-class families with at least one member working in a core unionized industry of auto assembly, chemical, metal fabricating, public service, and garment. In depth "learning" life-history interviewing (n = 110), focus groups, organizational and sectorial analysis, as well as various ethnographies of the home and workplace formed the basis of our approach which sought to challenge the dominant modes of understanding learning and education.

To briefly sample some of the dimensions which workers themselves begin to describe in our research take for instance the situated context of this workers home, work and family learning — all of which is beyond any formal training or education.

> *I used the computer a lot where I used to work... to punch in orders.... So the kids wanted to know what I wanted for Christmas one year, and they bought it for me [a computer]. So I worked at it a little bit and [my daughter] had this WordPerfect on it. And she's got the booklet and she showed me how to do it because she knows how to do it. My husband has to do it on his job too, and he said 'we've got to sit down and we've got to learn how to do it, more often than what we do'.... I should really sit down and do it, but then I can't sit down and relax and do something if there's something more important that I have to do. Like if I had a lot of housework to do or if I felt I had bills to pay that's more important to me than sittin' at the computer because once I get my*

bills paid up, my mind's at ease. (Chemical worker, female, 40's)

This auto parts worker and his partner joke about the dominant perception of working-class learning that persists despite the richness of the activity that endures beneath the surface of dominant perceptions.

Len[1]	*I'm not sure what they are going to do in the year two thousand when the computers don't reset their dates properly and run out of numbers....*
Rose	*Look at me. I don't even know how to turn one on!... [to Len] How do you know so much?*
Len	*[pretending to whisper to Rose] I'm telling you, I'm a factory worker, I'm suppose to be stupid! [Rose laughing loudly]*
Interviewer	*They keep telling you! [laughing]*
Len	*I know, I know, I just gotta learn to listen! [laughing]*

Our analysis outlines how this middle-class institutional bias, though in no way static, rests on several central assumptions that has a structuring effect on the way people think, talk and practice learning. These assumptions operate across the general categories of ***process*** (schooling/further education/informal learning; individual/collective) and ***content*** (culturally reproductive/resistant/liberatory), but above all require highly contextualized or situated approaches analysis in order to be fully understood.

In questioning the central tenets of a middle-class bias in formal educational institutions, we critically evaluated the dominant meaning of "learning" itself. Although it is not possible to capture the empirical-theoretical development of this critique within our project data in this brief space — we can flag the central points of our argument. The alternative theoretical perspective we build from is that of the Activity Theory of Learning first outlined in the early part of this century by Lev Vygotsky (1978; 1986). In our view, the most advanced contemporary re-working of the concept is that of the Situated Learning approach (Lave and Wenger, 1991). In brief, the position focuses on the particular or 'situated' interaction within activity or fields of practice. Learning in this sense, though it is embodied, is not understood through the individual's psycho-physical act, but rather through the activity of participation in a particular social system.

In this way, the definitive elements of working-class learning become the particular means, barriers and character of access to participation in these fields of practice. These means and barriers are structured along gender, race, age and class lines and involve structured access to material resources (time, space, energy, etc.), and also ideological or discursive structures which account for the systematic meanings that people make use of in thinking, talking and acting in the world.

Basic Analysis Across the Sites

Each of our research sites offered a glimpse at the way that learning is constituted across the three central spheres of cultural activity: the workplace, the community and the home. The most basic level of analysis was that of the amount of time which people spent learning in different spheres and within different contexts of formalization.

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[1] Names are psuedonyms.

Table 1: Informal learning and further education

Workplace	Informal Home-Based Learning (hrs./wk)	Informal Work-Based Learning (hrs./wk)
CAW	18.5	4.9
CEP	5.1	1.6
OPSEU	3.5	3.7
USWA	4.2	4.8
ILGWU/UNITE	4.5	0.1
Weighted Average[2]	8.1 (421.2 hr/yr)	3.3 (171.6 hr/yr)
Workplace	**Home-Based Further Education (hrs./wk)**	**Work-Based Education (hrs./wk)**
CAW	6.7	4.5
CEP	1.5	0.4
OPSEU	2.5	1.5
USWA	0.5	0
ILGWU/UNITE	0	0.6
Weighted Average	2.2 (110 hrs/yr)	2.3 (115 hrs/yr)
Total		**15.9 (817.8 hrs/yr)**

These tabulations outline the level of activity of working-class learners. However, with large-scale survey reports as the basis for inter-class comparison (Livingstone, Hart and Davie, 1996)[3], even at this most basic level of analysis we begin to see that, although it is rarely recognized in tangible ways, levels of learning in the institutional-based and informal realm are comparable to those in more affluent class positions (as Tough's tradition of research in self-directed learning has earlier suggested (see Tough, 1979).

We must be quick to point out however, that these tabulations can only suggest the character of working-class informal learning in relation to the participant discussions arising from our in-depth, oral-history interviews. It is here that we see working people engaged in learning activities across different spheres and at levels that vary according to contextual issues which include organizational, sectoral, gendered, racialized, age as well as class relations.

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[2] Weighted averages are based on total number of respondents at each site.

[3] Both corporate executives and Industrial workers in this large scale survey are now showing comparable nonformal (25 and 20 annual % spent respectively) and informal levels of learning (both at approximately 12 hrs/wk).

Situated Learning Relations at Each Site

The most dominant theme to arise from the auto assembly site was the radical effect of its strong union culture on learning relations. A developed workers' learning culture combined with various gender, race and age effects (favouring white, middle-aged, male) produced expansive opportunities to engage in learning relations. The strong union culture helped workers appropriate notions of learning that included them despite class positioning, formal schooling achievement, etc. The effect was the most developed worker-controlled, union-based educational programs, as well as particularly expansive informal learning relations.

The most dominant theme among the chemical workers was the general heightening of consciousness around the issue of learning in conjunction with changes to gain greater control and recognition in the area of workplace training and education. Again, gender, race and age effects could be seen to be in operation favouring the largely white, middle-aged, male workers at work, in the community and in the home.

In the public sector research site restructuring of the Ontario public service sector strongly affected patterns of learning both in and beyond the workplace. In addition, the workplace was seen to be heavily stratified into more secure "skilled" jobs and less secured maintenance and custodial work.

The metal fabricating site research had as one of its central themes the division between "skilled" and the "unskilled" as well as male and female. Learning practices were seen to be radically effected by these relations in the workplace, and in the home and community. The weak position of a small firm in a increasingly capital-intensive sector was also seen to be a significant factor shaping the means, barriers and character of this learning.

Finally, our research in the garment sector displayed the effects of a 'dual economy'. This sector is dominated by women and visible minorities. Here homework, low and insecure wages, government policies, unjust valuation of foreign credentials all were seen as significant structures of participation in learning practice. Despite relatively strong union activity, which sought to directly challenge these relations, workers still struggled to find the material resources of time, space and human energy to carry on their learning.

The Hidden Dimensions of Working-class Learning

The hidden dimensions of working-class learning reflect a significant re-appraisal of the notion of learning to move beyond dominant/dominating common-sense notions of learning. Contextual dimensions are at the forefront here. While workers and their families continue to find and produce the material resources for natural impulses towards reflective, intentional and socially-productive participation in learning activity - the relations of this struggle are structured by race, gender, age and, most broadly speaking, extended historical-material relations of production. The first participant quoted in the opening of this paper suggests effects of the material conditions on learning, while demonstrating the productive collaborative nature of working-class learning at home. Re-structuring and ongoing relations with advanced capitalism reflected in the sectoral, organization and dual-economy effects, we have significant, demonstrable effects in the more micro-situated activities of workers. Job descriptions, relations of language (English-as-first-language), and the relations stemming from constructions of "skilled" categories were seen to structure participation particularly in the workplace. Access to credited learning reproduced dominant distributions of credentials along class, race and gender lines. Informal learning was seen to be partially structured, though actively resisted, along these lines as well.

The deconstruction of the individualist bias is perhaps most central in problematizing middle-class institutional biases. While it is clear that this bias functions in most formalized learning through pedagogical techniques, testing and accreditation, it also functions through the credentialized labour market and individualistic promotional and compensation systems of commodified learning and labour. While Activity, Situated Learning, and even some Cultural Psychology theorists continue to demonstrate that "learning" cannot be understood as an individualized act - human capital theory and capitalist educational hegemony more generally continue to hold sway even in the minds of some of those most oppressed by such meanings.

Our second participant-interview quote, at the opening of this paper, points toward these ideological and discursive dimensions of learning, suggesting once again the many different ways in which dominant ways of thinking, talking and realizing the practice of learning operate to largely deny, suppress and divert this learning.

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"THIS WOULD SCARE THE HELL OUT OF ME IF I WERE A HR MANAGER": WORKERS MAKING SENSE OF PLAR

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Abstract: Focus group and in depth interviewing with industrial workers suggests the situated character of PLAR. Alternative contexts for PLAR are discussed for their contribution to informal collective networks which re-assert working class and community solidarity.

Résumé: Cett recherche qui s'inspire des entrevues individuelles et en groupes avec des travailleurs industriels suggère le caractère bien situé de la Reconnaissance et de l'Evaluation de l'Apprentissage de Base. D'autres contextes, où ce dernier pourra contribuer à renforcer les réseaux informels collectifs qui réaffirment une solidarité ouvriére et communautaire, sont aussi examinés.

Within its brief history, with cautions and clarifications duly noted, Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR) has consistently been associated with uniquely liberatory qualities. Alan Thomas (1998:341) has even gone so far as to suggest PLAR to be "the practical and symbolic instrument for rethinking the entire enterprise [of education]". Coming from a "Situated Knowledges" perspective (Haraway, 1991), Elana Michelson too indicates that,

> APEL [US term for PLAR] can become an important venue for revisiting the relationship between authorized and devalued forms of knowledge precisely because it formalizes it. It is therefore a node for negotiating epistemological visibility and for re-examining the notion of authoritative community. (1996:193)

Speaking from another vantage point, that is from a predominantly devalued knowledge standpoint, has been a group of unionized chemical workers from the Greater Toronto Area. In a study of PLAR and a new "Skills and Knowledge Profile" tool (SKP)(Lior and Martin, 1997) more than a dozen workers from the plant took the time to sit down in focus groups as well as individual interviews to discuss the meanings and the processes of PLAR. Below is one worker's account of the meaning he envisions PLAR taking on in the context of his workplace.

> Well to put myself in the position of the Human Resources Manager, I have to get myself out of the mind set I'm in right now, that is, I'd have to start thinking like a manager. And then it would be like, if [the SKP] came in front of me. 'Well, thank you very much. I appreciate it', and I'd put it aside and then I'd try to find a person with less official skill and qualifications then I just read because I don't want to have to pay for it. Because ultimately it is going to work against me, because then the worker is going to be saying well look I have this knowledge here, and here I can do this and I can help here... So this would scare the hell out of me if I were a Human Resource Manager.... Versatility in the workplace is important and it works well if everybody agrees on it and you can all share your knowledge, but when management gets involved the situation is different. Versatility

becomes a price. And they're not willing to pay. (Ron)[1]

Why is it that industrial workers like Ron understand PLAR in this way? When and where are the liberatory moments of PLAR that writers either suggest or assume? The answers that I'd like to discuss in this short paper involve issues of context and standpoint. Along with Thomas and Michelson, Ron and other workers outlined how the character of PLAR varies from context to context. It is a situationally contingent tool dependent equally on the particular sets of social relations as well as one's particular class, race and gender "standpoint"[2].

Situated Approaches

Situated Approaches is a term I shall use to refer to ways of dealing with issues that begin with the particular aspects, contexts, and standpoints of a situation rather than pre-formed trans-historical features. I must be careful not to give the impression that this denies the effects of material history (it too is embodied in everyday activities). Instead, I argue that the context-related meaning and social (inter)action that surround phenomena such as PLAR play a significant, often ignored, role in their constitution. The localized constitution of phenomena within these approaches are a 'particular case of the possible', as well as historical and inter-situational.

In her approach, Michelson (quoted above) operates within a postmodernist tradition which allows her to envision the situated constitution of dominant and subordinate knowledges. Here knowledge is dependent on its specific point of production. Likewise, the historical foundations of Thomas's work accomplishes a similar goal in that PLAR is seen in relationship to the "entire enterprise" of (Canadian) education taking place in (contested) "economic, social and political, and geographic space" (1998:334). Perhaps the most formalized version of this approach involves certain phenomenological techniques[3] which help to focus on similar opportunities to question essentialized notions that, for instance, would say PLAR is PLAR or knowledge is knowledge - independent of who, where or how these ideas/practices actually operate. In this paper I suggest that approaches like these are helpful in understanding the sense that particular people in particular situations make from particular phenomena such as PLAR.

Workers making meanings out of PLAR

Before talking specifically about the visions of PLAR which workers' shared with me, it's necessary to note the particular standpoint(s) from which they speak. Being "white", "male" and "working class" (understood as interwoven relationships, not merely labels) played an important role in constituting their perspectives. Another relevant standpoint for this discussion of PLAR concerns these workers' non-transitory status (CLFDB, 1994). Generally people not travelling through school, to the workforce, or from job to job are not represented in PLAR research. This standpoint may be implicated in the broader sense of PLAR these workers entertain. With a sense of the central standpoints involved, we can turn to the five contexts in which workers discussed the meaning and use of PLAR: formal schooling, the workplace, the labour market, the union, the home/community.

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[1] All worker-participant names in this paper are pseudonyms.

[2] The concept of "standpoint", for the most part, comes out of the developments of what is known as "Feminist Standpoint Epistemology" (e.g. Harding, 1986) which, as I attempt in this paper, privileges the particular and the embodied "local". Also see the work of Dorothy Smith and Frigga Haug.

[3] It must be registered that approaches associated with "Phenomenology" vary widely. Martin Heidegger seems to captures much of the best of the tradition in his concept of "Dasein" meaning all the historically, culturally, power-situated elements of actually 'being-there' (Steiner, 1978). Also see "Basic Writings" (Krell, 1993).

In the context of PLAR's relationship to ***formal schooling*** participants in this research all expressed cautious hope. Their hope was primarily rooted in the prospect of lessening their time should they return for formal credentials. However, serious doubts remained as to PLAR's potential within schooling. Ron's view summarizes these concerns.

> Well the only reason I have doubts is because again you're dealing with a kind of management. Now we're sitting in this room in 1997 [in Ontario], with a teacher's strike looming. Like they're trying to restructure the educational system... (Ron)

In the context of formal schooling, common doubts such as those above aside, PLAR was seen as a legitimate though perhaps idealize tool for the working class.

Workers also discussed PLAR as a tool to be used ***within the workplace*** for promotions, transfers, etc.; however, workers were quite sceptical about prospects in this context as well.

> It's basically that if they officially recognize [PLAR], they're going to have to pay for it right? They're getting the knowledge from us on the cheap right now. We're providing it basically free of charge, you know why would they want to formally recognize it and then have to compensate extra for it? (Henry)

In these workers' view, due to PLAR's potential to affect struggles over wage-levels and the largely symbolic 'knowledge war' (between management, engineers, etc.) - workers anticipate its rejection or appropriation by management.

At the start of this paper I quoted a worker who indicated how PLAR would take on a specific meaning in the context of ***applying for a job***. The consensus amongst workers here was quite pessimistic with market logic taking precedence over demonstrable skill.

> For people who are unemployed and looking for a job - can this tool help them? I just have a hard time saying, yes it will. Because of the economic climate, and the management practices that are in place today - yes, it would be nice to think that it would help people, but in the reality of the world will it help them get a job - I have my doubts. (Henry)

Once again, PLAR can be seen to be defined not by its philosophical principles or its empirical justification, but instead by the social context and specific standpoints which constitute its meaning in use.

To this point, we've briefly glossed over the negative realities of PLAR envisioned by workers. However, envisioned within institutional contexts other than school or work, PLAR is seen by these workers as taking on a very different meaning. Workers such as this one pointed out the positive effects PLAR could have for facilitating the ***learning culture within the union local***.

> We've sent people to many courses to require some formal and informal skills or whatever, but this [PLAR/SKP] would be a good tool to keep a record of their learning, personally, and for a local - to show what people are capable of in the labour sense. And then you can get into things like electronics, and car mechanics, painting and decorating, etc. You could sort of build it out from there. But all with the idea that you pass the learning on. When we teach people it's with the intent that when they learn, they have to come back and teach others. So you're always passing on your knowledge, experience and skills. (Tom)

In the context of the union, PLAR was understood as tool to stimulate collective, as opposed to merely individualized, learning relations. This is a much more optimistic vision of PLAR, and also one which directly contradicts the central tenet of credentialism and market relations: competitive individualism.

Tom also suggests another progressive meaning above, that is of PLAR as it could involve ***home and community informal learning***.

R: This particular package [PLAR/SKP] is great but it's only going to really work if I give to Henry or Dave or somebody else... I can say, well look I was actually thinking of doing something but I didn't know who had the skills and the knowledge. All of a sudden I know that my neighbour or a friend or a co-worker has the knowledge and you can draw on it. Because, they're going to give it to you more willingly than if I was wearing the badge "Manager".

T: Like a knowledge bank! Like a knowledge bank for workers internally. [speaking to the group] You know it's like John Smith's a great mechanic. If anybody want's help winning a grievance - give me a shout! [all laughing]

Here PLAR takes on a liberatory character as an aid to directly facilitate working class cultural communities (co-workers, friends, neighbours). Managers (at least as Managers) are specifically left out of the collective.

Of course, though PLAR is new, these types of educational visions have been around for some time. Informal learning networks clearly pre-date formalized education, and E.P. Thompson (1963:56) described working class variations as far back as 18th century England. Closer to home, Bruce Spencer (1998) describes a rich tradition of nonformal/informal learning rooted in Canadian working class experience. The common thread to each vision however is the means to the collective constitution of working class experiences (in its complexity) as knowledge in specific places and times. Though Michelson's (1996) critique is dead-on, she's less specific about how alternative knowledge forms are produced. This, in my opinion, is the grounded intellectual work that these workers have begun at their local. For these workers time, space and opportunity for collective reflection are central for thinking, talking and producing alternative futures. As David summarizes,

> From the workers' point of view where I'm coming from - I don't think [PLAR/SKP] is too practical. I mean it's good to write everything down, but as long as there is always the two sides drawn between management and the working class a lot of it is not applicable.... but like what we did here tonight I thought was really good. Guys opened up and they talked about the way things are. The way they really are, not just theoretically

like when the company offers "Team-Building skills" which is a crock of shit. I mean this is team building right?

Conclusions

As the industrial workers in this research suggests, it could very well be that the progressive potentials of PLAR necessarily lie ***outside*** the well-entrenched institutional settings of the school, workplace or labour market. Sensitivities to the situated character of PLAR open up the possibility to understand the critique workers are quick to offer. From their standpoint, the meaning and use of PLAR shifts radically from context to context. PLAR is seen to engender severe scepticism in the workplace and labour market, caution and doubt within schooling, and grounded optimism within the union and local cultural community. Judging by fullness of working class informal learning practices already in place (Spencer, 1998; Livingstone et al., forthcoming), this optimism is probably well-justified.

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DISTINGUISHING THE MORAL FROM THE EXPEDIENT: A CRITICAL CONTENT ANALYSIS OF CODES OF ETHICS IN ADULT EDUCATION

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Abstract

Since 1993 several organizations and individuals have proposed codes of ethics, or code-like documents, to provide ethical guidance to adult educators. This paper illustrates a form of critical content analysis—principle testing—that reveals if the moral principles contained in these documents should be regarded as suitable guides to ethical practice.

Resumé

Depuis 1993, plusieurs organisations et individus ont proposé des codes éthiques (ou des documents qui ressemblent à des codes) pour offrir aux educateurs des adultes une direction ou des conseils pour la pratique éthique. Cette communication illustre l'application à de tels documents d'une forme d'analyse critique—l'épreuve des principes—qui permit de savoir si on peut considérer les principes moraux contenus dans ces documents comme des conseils qui conviennent à une pratique éthique.

Introduction

While academics have busied themselves debating the desirability and feasibility of developing codes of ethics for adult education, several organizations and indivduals have developed codes, have proposed guidelines for developing them, or have proposed frameworks for reflecting on ethical issues. In 1993, the Coalition of Adult Education Organizations (CAEO)—representing 29 national organizations in the US concerned with adult learning—published *Guidelines for Developing a Code of Ethics for Adult Educators,* in part to encourage the development of codes by adult education associations. In 1994, the Adult and Community Educators Association of Michigan developed a code of ethics for its members and encouraged other associations in the state to adopt the code. Also in 1994, the Learning Resources Network (LERN), based in Manhattan, Kansas, issued a Code of Ethics for those engaged in "the development, implementation, and delivery of lifelong learning programs." And in 1996, George Wood, of Ball State University, published a "framework for reflecting on ethical issues in adult education" consisting of nine ethical responsibilities thought to be applicable throughout the field. Each of these documents represents a serious effort to provide ethical guidance to those who practice in this highly diverse field. But these efforts have not been subjected to any substantive critical analysis to determine their suitability. Sork (1996) pointed out that some of the principles contained in these documents are promising guides to practice while others are dubious, but he did not undertake a thorough analysis of these documents.

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate a form of critical content analysis that can be used to evaluate the moral principles implicitly or explicitly contained within each of these documents.

The paper begins by providing background on the reasons that each document was developed, then proceeds to analyze selected elements in each. Of particular concern is the degree to which each element reflects a clear moral principle or position that can be subjected to one or more principle tests. When applied to a moral principle, each of these tests reveals a different aspect of the principle that allows one to make a reasoned assessment of its suitability as a guide to morally-responsible practice.

Background on the Documents

The *Guidelines* published by the Coalition of Adult Education Organizations (CAEO) was developed under the leadership of David Stewart, formerly of the American Council on Education. In 1991 the CAEO published a one-page *A Bill of Rights for the Adult Learner* that, if widely adopted, would have had important implications for the provision of adult education. Each of the twelve *rights* implied an *obligation* on the part of adult educators to accept certain practices and program features as morally correct. The next logical project was to attempt the development of a code of ethics to codify responsible practice. There were several iterations of the document. Contentious debates about the content led to a compromise document that was not presented as a code of ethics, but rather as a set of principles from which could be selected those considered appropriate by various organizations intent on developing a code. This approach avoided the problem of having to reach agreement on the principles included in the document and left it up to other organizations to develop locally-relevant codes—and gain their acceptance.

The *Professional Code of Ethics* published by the Michigan Adult and Community Educators (1992) was developed under the leadership of several members who attended the 1990 meeting of the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education held in Salt Lake City. A key feature of this conference was a series of plenary sessions during which the profession of adult education was put on trial for malpractice. At the end of the conference the profession was found "guilty of malpractice without malice." The issues raised during this prosecution of the profession were of sufficient concern that the Michigan group went about the task of developing a code. It did gain acceptance of the code and has since suggested that other associations in Michigan concerned with adult education adopt the code.

The *Code of Ethics* published by the Learning Resources Network (LERN) was preceded by the publication of *Industry Standards for Classes with Potential Commercial Content* (1992). The *Standards* document was developed as a direct result of the widely-publicized "Miami Case" of 1991 in which the Dade County (Florida) Public Schools, and an instructor, were sued by older adults who lost money on risky investments recommended by the instructor in a course they took on investments. The *Code of Ethics* seems to be a natural extension of this concern with responsible practice, but it does have one rather odd feature: one of its three sections is a *Learner's Code of Ethics*. This seems odd because codes typically specify how providers should behave in relation to learners, not the responsibilities and obligations of learners.

The *Framework* proposed by George Wood developed from a doctoral seminar during which Wood felt challenged to draft a code because of some earlier writing he had done advocating a code of ethics. This advocacy was based on research he had done with McDonald (McDonald and Wood, 1993) in which they found considerable support among adult educators in Indiana for a professional code of ethics. He decided to call what he produced "A Framework for Reflecting on Ethical Issues in Adult Education" because it captured his ambivalence about the feasibility of developing a widely-applicable code.

Principle Testing

The documents described above collectively contain 72 statements designed to provide guidance to adult educators about what is ethically responsible practice. Some of these are presented as broad principles, some describe acceptable or unacceptable practices, and some propose various rights and obligations of learners and providers. What has not been done to date is to subject these statements to critical analysis as a way of determining which of them are most likely to be suitable guides to ethical practice. Although it would be easy to pick out the weakest, most vague and narrow of these for criticism, a more systematic critique is proposed. "Principle testing" is a process used to judge how robust ethical principles are when subjected to careful scrutiny from several different perspectives. The form of principle testing proposed here is described by Coombs (1980) and consists of four separate tests: a new cases test, a role exchange test, a universal consequences test and a subsumption test (Coombs, 1980). If a principle fails any tests that are *logically applicable to it*, then serious questions must be raised about its suitability as a guide to practice. As Coombs points out, however, "These tests can show a moral principle to be unacceptable but not that a moral principle is acceptable. What we do when we use these tests is to try as hard as we can to find out if the principle is unacceptable. If the severest tests we can contrive do not show it to be unacceptable, we gain confidence that it is acceptable" (p. 33).

Following are brief explanations of each of these tests (Coombs, 1980, p. 31):

- **New cases test** — "This test consists of determining whether the principle yields acceptable judgements when applied to other relevantly similar cases" (p. 31). Applying this test requires that the principle is stated in such a form that it can be applied to several different specific circumstances (unique cases). "Since an acceptable principle yields only acceptable judgments, we can test this principle by taking a new case, real or imagined, to which the principle is relevant and consider whether we can accept the moral judgement that ensues from applying the principle to this new case" (pp. 31-32).

- **Role exchange test** — "This test consists of determining whether the principle yields an acceptable judgement when viewed from the perspective of the person likely to be most adversely affected by the action being judged" (p. 31). This test is based on the proposition that "If we cannot accept the judgment that it is morally right for others to engage in an action or practice that has [adverse] consequences for us, then we cannot accept that it is morally right to engage in the same action and so bring the same consequences to others" (p. 34).

- **Universal consequences test** — "This test consists of determining whether the consequences of everyone's acting on the principle would be acceptable" (p. 31). "A moral principle cannot be acceptable unless the consequences of acting on it are acceptable. Some moral principles are such that the consequences of any one person's acting on them would be quite acceptable but the consequences of their being acted upon by everyone having a reason to do so would be unacceptable" (p. 38). "The Universal Consequences Test is applied after one is clear about the features of the action or practice to be judged, including the reasons for engaging in the action" (p. 39).

- **Subsumption test**— "This test consists of determining whether the principle can be deduced from a more general principle already regarded as acceptable" (p. 31). "If the principle underlying our moral judgment can be derived from a more inclusive principle already established as acceptable, then it, too, must be acceptable. In a sense, this test attempts to determine whether the principle underlying our moral judgment is consistent with our other, more considered moral principles" (p. 41).

In introducing these tests, it is also important to point out that not all tests should be applied to all principles. Coombs suggests that ". . .we must choose the test we think the principle is most likely to fail" (p. 46). So in deciding to apply these tests to principles derived from the above documents, we must consider two questions:

1. Which of the tests are logically applicable to this principle?
2. Of the tests that are logically applicable to this principle, which one is the principle most likely to fail?

Discussion

In the space available here, it is not possible to fully illustrate the process of principle testing. However, to demonstrate its potential utility, two brief examples are provided.

Consider the following principle contained in the CAEO *Guidelines*:

> *Instructors or program leaders explicitly identify their educational philosophies at an early stage of work with individuals and groups and likewise identify their personal beliefs or philosophies if they become a point of educational direction or emphasis during the course of instruction* (p. 4).

It is not difficult to imagine a specific practice setting where following such a directive would be regarded as ethically responsible, but—to invoke the New Cases Test—can we imagine a situation where following this directive would not be ethically responsible? Consider a program in which such a revelation might seriously distort the educational process because of the power to influence students held by the instructor. If a primary purpose of the program was to assist students to develop and articulate their own educational philosophies, for example, what impact would an instructor's early revelation have on this development? It can no doubt be argued that there are many cases in which practicing this principle would be regarded as ethically and pedagogically responsible, but invoking the New Cases Test challenges us to imaging a situation where doing so might do harm

A second example is taken from the Michigan *Code*:

> *The Adult and Community Educator adheres to local, state and national laws and guidelines* (Standard 5).

To some this may seem like a self-evident, universal principle that all members of democratic societies should follow. Yet there are cases from the history of adult education where educational efforts deliberately violated unjust laws or taught others how to violate unjust laws peacefully. The civil rights movement, the peace movement and the environmental movement all provide *cases* where following this principle would be regarded as ethically irresponsible and inconsistent with the social change goals of the movement.

If both of these examples fail the new cases test, then we must reject them as ethical principles to guide the practice of *all* adult educators. But failing the new cases test does not mean that these principles should be rejected for all contexts. The new cases that were used in these examples might well be regarded as not relevant in the contexts in which the principles are to be applied. Within the contexts in which Michigan Adult and Community Educators work, it may be impossible to imagine a case in which following Standard 5 would be regarded as ethically indefensible. If this is the case, then the principle would *stand for those adult educators in those settings*.

This paper has suggested that principle testing is a potentially useful tool for furthering our understanding of ethical practice. By subjecting the documents described above to this sort of critical analysis, we can learn much about how widely-applicable they are and where their adoption might take us as a field.

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UNION MOVIES: FILM AND CANADIAN LABOUR EDUCATION IN THE 1940s

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Les films et les vidéos sont d'importants véhicules dans l'histoire canadienne de l'éducation syndicale. Cet article examine un moment de cette histoire afin d'établir le rôle qu'a joué le film dans l'éducation syndicale durant les années 40 et de permettre aux participants de la session de se familiariser avec une des facettes de cette histoire visuelle.

Film and video are important elements in the history of Canadian labour education. This paper examines one moment in this history in order to assess film's role in labour education during the 1940s and to provide session participants with a glimpse of this visual history.

Film and video are important elements in the history of Canadian labour education. The Workers' Educational Association (WEA) began experimenting with film strips (still images, text and graphics) in the 1930s and, in the following decade, combined this medium with motion pictures as part of a broader visual-education programme. The National Film Board (NFB), formed in 1939, has given sporadic support to labour filmmaking through the years with, for example, the Trade Union Film Circuit in the 1940s, the Focus on Labour series in the 1950s, individual films like the award-winning *Do Not Fold, Staple, Spindle or Mutilate* in the 1960s, and elements of the Challenge for Change programme in the 1970s and 1980s. In the past twenty-five years the ease and accessibility of videomaking has seen a proliferation of labour-oriented video production primarily by independent filmmakers working with labour organizations. This paper examines one moment in this history in order to assess film's role in labour education during the 1940s and to provide session participants with a glimpse of this visual history.

Two crucial forces combined to produce labour film in the 1940s. One was the NFB under John Grierson's leadership and the other was the WEA under Drummond Wren. John Grierson had been recruited from the United Kingdom by the federal Liberal government in 1938 to survey Canada's film needs; a year later he was hired to run the new NFB. Grierson believed that documentary film, which he invented, could be used to educate workers and farmers about the social and economic forces shaping their lives and to motivate them to take collective action. He was willing to use the NFB's facilities to work with adult-education groups who shared his interest in education for social action. The federal government recognized Grierson's skills as a filmmaker and as a potential wartime propagandist when they hired him to run the NFB and when they added the direction of the Wartime Information Board (WIB) to his duties four years later.

The WIB and the NFB worked together to produce and distribute films to bolster support among Canadians for the war. One avenue was thirty-five millimetre feature films, such as the *Canada Carries On* series, which were distributed and shown commercially in movie theatres. Another medium was sixteen millimetre shorts meant to be distributed and shown outside of theatres in social and community groups as part of educational programmes. Three main film circuits were organized during the war as part of this strategy. In 1942 rural circuits began to operate across the country to distribute these low-budget, non-commercial films in the countryside and to teach farmers and farm workers that their participation in the war effort was vital. A year later industrial circuits were established to serve production workers in industrial areas. These circuits were linked directly with the government's efforts to increase war production through labour-management cooperation. Films were shown in workplaces with the cooperation and under the eye of employers. The third circuit was organized by the WEA for the Canadian labour movement.[1]

Formed in 1919 as a fledgling organization in Toronto, by the 1940s the WEA had branches across the country, with a particularly lively group in Vancouver but with its base still in Ontario. The classroom tutorial was the centrepiece of the association's educational strategy, and by 1940 it was experimenting with study groups, radio and other educational techniques in an effort to make workers' education more relevant and accessible to its constitutency. From the later 1930s, with seed money provided by the Carnegie Foundation, the WEA used film strips to develop what it called visual education. A film strip was a roll of thirty-five millimetre film on which was printed a number of still pictures and text. They were projected onto a screen one at a time. Seventy-two hundred workers were served by the association's film-strip service in 1942, and it was estimated that 15000 workers participated in the service during 1943. Film-strip circuits were organized in cooperation with unions and local Trades and Labor Councils across the country. Film strips did succeed in making education more accessible to workers. As a Vancouver journalist put it, the "amazing success of the program elsewhere is due to the fact that the sponsors have actually made education fun. They impart knowledge in the guise of entertainment."[2]

The WEA was interested in the early 1940s in expanding its visual-education service to include film, but the association did not have the resources to mount a film programme on its own. Film strips were relatively inexpensive to produce, and the film-strip projector was relatively inexpensive, but motion-picture film production and film projectors were beyond its budgetary means. With an eye on the rapid organization of the rural film circuits during 1942, General Secretary Drummond Wren approached Grierson and the NFB with a proposal that the board produce films of interest to labour and make its projectors and films available to labour organizations and trade unionists. Wren wanted to use film as an educational tool to provide workers with the critical skills necessary to analyze the society in which they lived. Grierson shared this interest, but his immediate concern was to aid the war effort through film. Thus a limited and conditional space was made available for the worker-education movement to use the publicly funded film board for its purposes.

An arrangement was negotiated in 1942 between the board, the Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL; representing primarily the new industrial unions), the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada (TLC; representing primarily older craft-based unions) and the WEA whereby the NFB provided the necessary projectors and equipment, a monthly programme of films, and $125.00 monthly for a Trade Union Film Circuit. The two congresses each agreed to contribute $250.00 annually, while the WEA provided office space and expenses valued at $500.00 annually. The Trade Union Film Circuit was managed by the National Trade Union Film Committee. This committee, consisting of representatives from the four organizations, oversaw the development of the film circuits and chose the films to be shown. But it was Wren and the WEA who did the planning of the programme and, indeed, who did the political work of putting this committee and intitiative together.

By the end of 1942 five circuits were operating, four in Ontario and one in Montreal, and it was estimated that several thousand workers saw government and documentary films from the WEA and NFB libraries. Early in 1943 the agreement among the four organizations was renewed and expanded to become a national programme and to include the use of projectionists, paid by the NFB but recruited by and acceptable to the WEA. By 1945 circuits were operating from September to May with an average of 450 shows a month to a total audience of over 40000 trade unionists. The films shown on the circuits were a combination of NFB films made specifically for the Trade Union Film Circuit, other NFB-produced films, and British and American films. *Labour Looks Ahead*, for example, was produced for the November 1945 circuit and featured Canadian trade unionists participating in a variety of activities, including education. *Our Northern Neighbour*, meanwhile, was an NFB documentary about the Soviet Union produced for general distribution in support of the war effort, and *Partners in Production* was a British-made film promoting the virtues of labour-management production committees in war industries. Supplementary educational materials, produced by the WEA, accompanied the film programme and labour summer schools trained union educators to use the films for discussion purposes and to integrate film into their organizations' educational programmes.[3]

The projectionists on the Trade Union Film Circuit, who were drawn from the labour movement, worked as organizers as well as technicians. Besides making the rounds to show their monthly films, they organized the circuits and tried to ensure that the films were being used as much as possible as part of an educational programme. Normally, the films would be shown at the end of a local union business meeting or as part of a special film/educational evening. A busy projectionist such as Claude Donald could hold thirty screenings a month. Donald, a member of the Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders Union, began working as an NFB projectionist in British Columbia in 1943. He was also a WEA activist and a member of the (communist) Labour Progressive Party (LPP). Donald eventually resigned from the NFB to become the WEA organizer in BC, but his activities changed little (although he was no longer responsible for the circuits) as he always tried to integrate film into workers' education.[4]

Discussion trailers were an educational enhancement developed for the Trade Union Film Circuit. They were produced for *Partners in Production*, *Our Northern Neighbour*, and a number of other films that were shown on the circuits. The purposes of the trailers were to show the audience how discussions could be conducted and to raise points for discussion from the film. The trailers' designers wanted to use this medium to bridge the gap between the subject of the film and the experiences of the audience. Actual trade unionists were used in the trailers and the points raised for discussion were precise, simple and concrete. In preparing the trailer for *Veterans in Industry*, for example, NFB producer Stanley Rands and members of the production staff held preliminary meetings with Winnipeg trade unionists to discuss issues surrounding the reintegration of war veterans into the workforce. Rands then prepared a script for the trailer in which he made the general points of the film as relevant as possible to a trade-union audience, and checked it with the trade unionists. Later these same trade unionists, many 'acting' for the first time, were assembled to shoot the discussion trailer. Eleven-hours of filming at Windsor Hall in St. Vital yielded the five- to six-minute final product.[5]

The Trade Union Film Circuit lasted until 1946. A number of factors led to its demise, including tensions within the labour movement and NFB policy changes in the post-war period. First, a conflict developed between the International Alliance of Technical Stage Employees (IATSE—TLC) and the NFB regarding the showing of sixteen-millimetre films. Wren negotiated a protocol agreement with IATSE's leadership on behalf of the board and the National Trade Union Film Committee whereby non-IATSE projectionists could be used to show educational films to local unions without charge, but if admission was charged for any film an IATSE projectionist would be used. The IATSE membership in Canada rejected the agreement, prompting the NFB to reconsider its commitment to the Trade Union Film Circuit. Second, the leadership of the Steelworkers, the Packinghouse Workers and the Rubberworkers urged the NFB to deal directly with unions in determining the board's labour programme. Steelworker Charles Millard, in particular, did not want the WEA involved in a significant way with any union education, including government-sponsored film programmes. Meanwhile Eugene Forsey, research director at the Canadian Congress of Labour, was telling his employer that the WEA was promoting a (communist) LPP line in the print material it distributed with the films for the Trade Union Film Circuit. Both Millard and Forsey were strong supporters of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.[6]

Furthermore, at war's end the NFB expanded the Volunteer Projection Services, which had developed during the war as a means to show NFB films to Canadians who were neither workers nor farmers, into a Community Film Service. The Volunteer Projection Services was a distribution and projectionist-training system that worked in cooperation with business groups such as boards of trade and chambers of commerce. The Community Film Service, which absorbed the Trade Union Film Circuit, made films available to film groups organized on the basis of geographic rather than other forms of community. In this system the labour movement was no longer served as a distinct national community, with identifiable pan-Canadian interests, but became one interest group among many in a given city or town. This change was part of a more fundamental rightward shift at the NFB as progressive voices, including Grierson's, were purged.[7]

The WEA was able to put together a labour coalition in support of a national visual-education strategy and to take advantage of wartime opportunity to use the NFB for labour purposes. This wartime experience undoubtedly had a positive effect on labour educators' use of film in later years. Unfortunately, labour-movement sectarianism contributed to the demise of the film circuits and to the collapse of an integrated visual-education strategy. Labour educators pondering this historical example should consider what factors contributed to this sectarianism and how it can be avoided in the future.

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[1] Juliet Pollard, "Propaganda for Democracy: John Grierson and Adult Education During the Second World War," in Michael R. Welton, ed., *Knowledge for the People: The Struggle for Adult Learning in English-Speaking Canada, 1828-1973* (Toronto: OISE Press, 1987), 129-150; Leonard Chatwin, "The Documentary Film in Adult Education," in J.R. Kidd, ed., *Adult Education in Canada* (Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1950), 188-191.

[2] Archives of Ontario (AO), *Workers' Educational Association* (WEA) *Records*, MU 3997, file "Vancouver, B.C. (5)," clipping from the *Vancouver News Herald*, 1 February 1943; AO, *WEA Records*, MU 3990, black binder, Minutes: WEA of Canada, "Annual Report, 1942," 5; AO, *WEA Records*, MU 4029, file "Carnegie Corporation of New York," Drummond Wren to Charles Dollard, 3 February 1940 and 14 May 1942; AO, *WEA Records*, MU 3990, file "Minutes: WEA of Canada."

[3] University of Toronto, Industrial Relations Centre Library, "Education and Labour File, 1951-1971," Drummond Wren, "Address to the President and Board Members of the WEA of Canada," presented 31 March 1951 (Wren's Address, 1951), 19-20; OA, *WEA Records*, MU 3990, file "Minutes: WEA of Canada," Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting, 13 December 1942; National Archives of Canada (NAC), *Canadian Labour Congress* (CLC) *Records*, Volume 242, file 14, Drummond Wren to Aaron Mosher, 14 April 1943.

[4] The International Woodworkers of America hired the WEA (including Watson Thomson) to provide education during a 1946 strike in British Columbia. The following is a quote from a letter Claude Donald wrote to Drummond Wren describing how visual education was integrated into a general education programme for the striking workers: "Discussion groups were held with the aid of films, filmstrips, and educational materials; these were done on the picket lines (nearly 100 of them) with the aid of generators, where necessary, and voluntary operators. There were several schools, both weekend and thru the week, to train discussion leaders, and people to circulate and look after reading materials on the lines, to operate projectors, and set up and edit wall newspapers. …Lastly we took part in the trek to Victoria, assisting with sound equipment and movies and wall news. We also took a movie of the trek which you will likely be seeing before too long. Since none of us were experienced in the use of movie cameras, the film is only 50-50 good. However, we feel that there is enough to make a 15 or 20 minute movie, if they are willing to spend some dough to make it good." AO, *WEA Records*, MU 3997, file "Vancouver, BC," Claude Donald to Drummond Wren, 25 June 1946.

[5] *Labour's Film Forum* 2(8) (May 1945); AO, *WEA Records*, MU 3990, file "Minutes: WEA of Canada," various references from 1942 to 1945; AO, *WEA Records*, MU 3996, file "Vancouver, BC," various letters from Claude Donald to Drummond Wren, 1942-1945; NAC, *CLC Records*, Volume 188, file 25, Isabel Jordan, Information Section, NFB, to Norman Dowd, CCL, 10 December 1945; NAC, *CLC Records*, Volume 231, file 6, *Labour Film Handbook* (Ottawa: NFB, 1946).

[6] Wren's Address, 1951, 21; NAC, *CLC Records*, Volume 128, file 25, C.H. Millard, National Director, USWA, to Ross MacLean, Deputy Commissioner, NFB, 4 April 1945; NAC, *CLC Records*, Volume 242, file 11, Eugene Forsey to Pat Conroy, no date (but spring 1945).

[7] NAC, *CLC Records*, Volume 231, file 6, Andy Andras to Pat Conroy, 17 April 1946; Pollard, "Propaganda for Democracy," 143-144; Chatwin, "The Documentary Film in Adult Education," 191-192; Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making and Unmaking of a National Security State, 1945-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), chapter 10.

Rethinking Power in Participatory Research

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ABSTRACT: This paper explores the insights made possible by introducing feminist postmodern reconfigurations of concepts central to participatory research: `power' and `empowerment'; `knowledge'; and `community'.
ABSTRAT: Ce travail applique une perspective postmoderne feministe aux concepts centrales de la recherche participative.

> "Feminist ideology should not encourage (as sexism has done) women to believe they are powerless. It should clarify for women the powers they exercise daily and show them ways these powers can be used to resist sexist domination and exploitation"
> bell hooks, 1984.

In the decade after Freire's publication of Pedagogy of the Oppressed, while participatory and action research began to develop as alternative paradigms of social science research, a series of writings and interviews were published by Michel Foucault (1971;1979;1980;1982) which would also shake the foundations of the social sciences. Both new lines of thinking mounted powerful criticisms of the hegemonic research paradigms of positivism and objectivism, by asserting the intimate connection between knowledge and power relations: between what is `known', what is knowable, and the relations of authority and interest between the subjects and objects of different classes of knowledge.

This paper explores the insights made possible by introducing feminist postmodern reconfigurations of concepts central to participatory research: `power' and `empowerment'; `knowledge'; and `community'. I turn to feminist articulations of Foucault for particular reasons. First of all, while certain interpretions of postmodern theory have been criticized as relativist and divorced from the realm of daily, lived oppression, or as lacking a theory of agency, feminist theory is rooted in an ongoing struggle against inequality. A fundamental theme in feminist debates has been the tensions between two lines of analysis: on the one hand, a postmodern interrogation of `experience', `knowledge' and social identities as non-innocent discursive effects; on the other, an embodied analysis of social, political and economic marginalization historically maintained along structural lines of class, race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, education, ability and age[1]. The ideas emerging from these debates are particularly relevent to participatory research: concepts such as `epistemic privilege' (Narayan), `situated knowledge', strategic essentialism (Spivak, Fuss) and community as an alliance of interests across social difference rather than as a legislated common identity (Haraway's "cyborg coalition") all offer valuable insights when applied to research projects.

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[1] See, for example: Butler, 1992, 1993; Butler and Scott, 1992; Deveaux, 1994; Ellsworth, 1989; Flax, 1992; Gore, 1993; Grewal and Kaplan, 1994; Gunning, 1992; Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1993;McClintock, 1995; Mohanty, et, al., 1991; Moraga and Anzaldua, 1981; Razack, 1990, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1995; Rockhill

There are many points of connection between feminist postmodern theory and the field of participatory research. Both traditions are founded upon the principle that knowledge is **not neutral but inherently political**: that different formulations of what counts as fact and truth always work to position the holders of this knowledge as more powerful than the objects of knowing: this has been the experience of countless groups of marginalized peoples when the social scientists arrive from the university on research projects. From this principle springs the conviction within both fields that a challenge to hegemonic accounts of the world need to be mounted by those objectified and marginalized groups producing knowledge from their point of view and proclaiming the legitimacy of these perspectives vis-a-vis dominant versions. It is to this concept that Uma Narayan refers when she argues that oppressed groups must be recognized to have access to `epistemic privilege': that is, those who live their lives at the brunt of various hegemonic systems of subordination should be accorded the authority of a unique perspective on the workings of these systems and particularly the contradictions they reveal in liberal rhetoric of meritocracy, equality and freedom (**Narayan**).

I am not interpreting Narayan here to be suggesting that participants' experience be held up as absolute truth or the final word. As in the field of participatory research, feminist postmodernist writers caution that treating "experience" as objective data simply reinforces traditional social science paradigms (Scott, 1992, pp. 26-8); that individual experience is socially mediated and produced, and needs to be examined within this context.

In other words, both feminist postmodernism and participatory research theory see an intimate link between knowledge and power, a link that goes beyond saying that the more knowledge you have the more power you have, but asks what knowledge does to knowers and knowers to knowledge. Here is one of the ways I see an exciting opportunity for cross-pollination between the two, since feminist postmodern writers have put a lot of thought into asking exactly what this link (between knowledge and power) might consist of and how it could be understood and put to strategic use by political movements.

Much of this work goes back to Foucault's theory of power as the government of subjects (1982). Within this theory, knowledge -- as it is organized into discourses or internally consistent worldviews -- always already pre-supposes subjects who know and objects who are known, along with respective ranges of appropriate behaviour and goals for each. In other words, if knowledge doesn't descend from the sky then it must be understood as always formulated from a particular position, point of view, range of experience, self-interest and constellation of desires. Thus, for example, the discourse of global free trade **from square one** looks at the world through the eyes of a transnational corporation: the value judgements with which it is saturated are rooted in the interests of this transnational corporate subject who perceives all the phenomena and practices in the world **only** according to categories such as corporate profit/loss, freedom and restriction of investment. It relies upon fundamental assumptions of a level playing field between individuals, the priority of efficiency and the impossibility of full-employment, all of which serve to "un-mark" power relations as "natural", "common sense" or "neutral" and ensure individuals' acceptance and participation. This discourse of neoliberalism imagines whole ranges of other subject positions such as the replaceable worker, the meddling bureaucrat and the insane political terrorist. It automatically excludes all other subject positions, values, behaviours and ideas as incomprehensible and **unthinkable.** Many of us as activists have experienced the frustration of having to phrase our demands within neoliberal language and logics that fundamentally conflict with our systems of value; that contain no categories within which our communities can see ourselves positively.

In this sense discourses are like languages with pre-imagined speakers and listeners, insiders and outsiders, in which you can only be heard if there are words to express who you are and what you are saying. This represents a radical shift in thinking about power: power not so much as a form of currency, or an aspect of a person, as a **relation** between discursively imagined subject positions; not so much a **commodity** that can be possessed, hoarded away, simply given or taken, as something that circulates and is exercised through ideas and practices.

Returning to my example above of the discourse of global capitalism, I want to propose that the experience of having to live in a world defined according to someone else's interests and subject position lends new meaning to Foucault's calling politics "war by other means" (1982). While a postmodern concept of power as discursive relations of regulation and thinkability may seem too abstract to be relevant to popular organizing and social movements, I would argue that they have a particular significance in the context of the transition from dictatorship and military rule to neo-liberal civilian democracies occurring in many countries in the last decade or so. While martial law may no longer prevail on the streets, rising discourses of consumerism dissolve citizen groups into individual shoppers, replacing the question of group rights and equity with the unlimited freedom to obtain or do anything you can afford. Discourses of global competitiveness rewrite human collective life, sociality and justice in terms of the sole values of productivity and profit, while redefining citizens not as holders of universal rights and responsibilities but as taxpayers, consumers and competitors for ever-shrinking numbers of exploitative jobs.

What are some of the more concrete implications of this concept of power/knowledge for participatory research? First of all, it might shift some of the questions facilitators and participants ask as they create knowledge for social change, from "who has power and why?" to "how is power working?"[2]: encouraging them to ask whose point of view is dominating and whose interests are being served in what is passing in any situation for `common sense'?

This shift means that producing knowledge for social change would involve extensive redefinition of ideas, with close attention to ideas of community. That is, if knowledge is, as Haraway argues, situated in a particular subject position and contingent upon the interests, contextual specificity and limitations of that position, then this has implications for the power relations and the outcomes of any project. If knowledge always refers to an `us' and a `them', then there needs to be an ongoing discussion during the research process about who the `us' is understood to be.

Another corollary or implication of reconceptualizing power/knowledge as systems of relations between imagined subject positions, is that while power can work through bodies and organize them into unequal relations, **it isn't inherent to bodies themselves.** In other words, my relation and actions toward another person may be powerful and oppressive within certain discourses and subordinate or resistant within others: individuals are neither purely victims nor purely oppressors, but located differently by different discourses relative to other individuals. For example, the leader of a peasant community may be located as victim in relation to a multinational corporation polluting the soil and water, yet may be positioned as dominant in relation to his wife and children or other members of the community poorer than he.

Looking at power in this way takes us beyond the realm of state institutional, corporate and feudal domination to the local level, suggesting that discourses of difference and subjugation permeate every one of our relationships, producing an individual as powerful in some relationships and vulnerable in others.

This raises difficult questions in relation to popular organizing, social movements and participatory knowledge production, in which it tends to be easier to galvanize motivation, dedication and cohesion when collective identity is drawn oppositionally to an external `other'; that is, when a shared innocent victim identity is defined by what a more powerful `other' is doing to an `us'. Talking about multiple power relations and identities **within** a community attempting to organize and unify itself, would appear to weaken collective struggles for justice and to place in question the strong face the community would wish to present to the world in their project.

These questions have been central to the debates within what is termed "third **wave** feminism" in North America, the women's movement in the 1980's and 90's that has had to learn to understand itself, organize political momentum and loyalty while no longer relying on the homogenizing term "Woman". Postmodern feminist authors have struggled to understand how adhering to a binary logic **perpetuates** the violence of domination, how every oppositional identity and the knowledge that it expresses **creates new others and silences other knowledges.** Just as North American women of colour have pointed out that the term `woman' silences questions of race and ethnicity, so too, poor, lesbian and "Third World" women of colour have had to struggle to be heard in this new essentializing term.

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[2] See Foucault, 1990, p. 103.

Various postmodern feminist writers have suggested different directions these debates might take: Donna Haraway writes of `cyborg coalitions', in which political movements are organized around a common commitment to fighting for shared principles and specific goals, without subsuming complex individuals into a common identity. To me this implies that rather than assuming community as a pre-given, that the activity of consciously creating a non-homogenous community should be an ongoing part of the participatory research project. Spivak has suggested that "strategic essentialism" might be deployed within a movement for specific political purposes even while **internally** these strategic political identities are critically held by the group at arm's length, as limited, contingent tools and not a definitive truth. Judith Butler has reworked Foucault's theory of discursive regulation to locate agency in the gap, the slippage between the homogenizing category within which discourse names me and my individual performance of that name: in other words, while a community may decide to present themselves as `*pobladoras*' in certain battles for the advantages this may afford their cause, a constant attention to the impact of other factors on their lives may work to subvert the violence of this monolithic name.

What these discussions point to in relation to participatory research, then, is the importance of an ongoing discussion within the community of who the `we' behind the knowledge being produced is imagined to be, which identities and knowledge this `we' is crowding out, and how imagining it differently can make thinkable other ranges of possible actions, relations and forms of knowledge.

Would this weaken a popular movement? A postmodern feminist perspective suggests that it would **strengthen** it by escaping the dominant binary logic that homogenizes oppressed groups into static, powerless identities and **locks** them into dead-end margins. In the example I gave of Butler's idea of performative agency, the aim would be to access the strategic representational resources of a term like "*pobladora*" while also **exceeding** it, to make it mean **more** and offer **more** possibilities for action than dominant discourses might otherwise limit it to: participants in this case would see and present themselves as both *pobladoras* and **much more** than *pobladoras*. As another example, the experience of the National Action Committee for the Status of Women attests to the expansion and strengthening of alliances with other movements that a more complex collective identity makes possible.

It remains to consider what this concept of power implies for `empowerment' in participatory research, which I will proceed with in the remainder of my spoken presentation.

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THE EXPLANATORY POWER OF AN EARLY FRAMEWORK OF GOOD PRACTICE PRINCIPLES IN WORKPLACE EDUCATION

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The purpose of this investigation is to analyze 18 qualitative case studies of workplace education programs in Canada using a framework of principles of good practice. Results indicated that many of the components can be used as guide posts in the development of workplace education initiatives. In addition, certain framework components are supported, further defined and provide a foundational base for understanding the complexity of workplace learning.

Cette recherche a pour but l'analyse de 18 études de cas qualitatives des programmes d'éducation en milieu de travail au Canada en utilisant un ensemble de principes de bonne pratique. Les résultats ont indiqué que plusieurs des composantes peuvent être utilisées comme guides dans le développement des initiatives en milieu de travail. En outre, certaines composantes cadres sont supportées, encore définies et fournissent une base fondamentale pour comprendre la complexité de l'étude en milieu de travail.

INTRODUCTION

Since the late 80s workplace literacy has become recognized as an important part of the adult basic education field. However, the recentness of such activities in Canada has meant that information on this topic is still largely of the ephemeral sort. It also has meant that academic research is just beginning to address questions that may lead to the development of a theoretical orientation of this specific discipline.

Uvin and Jurmo (1996) point out that a range of workplace models and philosophies have now evolved. One model could be described as a workplace-driven paradigm where enhanced productivity and quality of goods and services are often articulated outcomes. A second model might be referred to as an approach emphasizing the needs of workers and in such a case the overall development of the worker is the anticipated result. What seems to be occurring now is the consensus that both these models do have certain common elements and one such element is in the area of principles of good practice.

According to Steel, Johnston, Folinsbee and Belfiore (1997) principles of good practice are critical in decisions about how to enhance basic skills education. Program principles guide the steps of planning, developing, implementing, and evaluating workplace education initiatives. In an effort to describe the principles of good practice and workplace literacy, Belfiore (1995) noted some common themes in the literature such as a focus around partnership, the importance of presenting a positive model of education, confidentiality, creating relevant learning situations and initial needs assessments. Using this foundational knowledge, a national forum was organized and individuals from across Canada representing business, labour, education and government further developed a framework of good practice principles in workplace education. Given the need for empirical evidence on this topic, the purpose of the investigation is to analyze 18 qualitative case studies of workplace education programs in Canada using the framework as a template. The nature of the analysis may help to determine the explanatory power of the framework in developing some early directions for theory in workplace literacy.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in the study is a descriptive design. In particular, a trend analysis approach is employed. This term is used to describe futures research methods and has been applied in the field of adult education policy and human resource development for a number of years (Cornish, 1977; Hoare, 1982; Taylor & Sutherland, 1994; Merriam & Simpson, 1995). By using a trend extrapolation technique on the various practices documented in the workplace case studies and analyzing these practices within the framework, a clearer picture will emerge as to the inter-relationships between the various components. Two data bases were used in the analysis: the case study data and the principles of good practice framework.

The final component of the framework is evaluation. Participants are recognized for their achievement. All partners should be involved in establishing key success factors that are relevant to them. There must be agreement among partners on how success is to be measured and what types of assessment tools should be considered. Adequate funding should be in place for evaluation. It is important that one determines before the beginning realistic objectives for the learner, the group and for the company if an evaluation is going to measure progress. It is also important to ensure that management is aware of the issues and those benefits that are not easily measured to prepare them for what can and cannot be evaluated. Evaluation can be measured on four levels: participation satisfaction, knowledge acquisition, knowledge transfer and the impact on other stakeholders.

DATA ANALYSIS

Through a trend extrapolation technique each case study was content analyzed intensively using the nine factor framework. This process was facilitated by the fact that all case studies had been developed around the same sub-headings: company background, human resources policy, program description, services and training delivered, decision making about the program, program impacts, barriers to implementation, policy influences, innovative program features and advice to others. Data code sheets were prepared and research notes taken as the different good practice principles were uncovered in each case study write-up. Finally, summary charts were developed further revealing the results.

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

In this section of the article, a section results of the analysis is presented. In the more complete article, each factor of the framework is depicted more fully through the practices described in the case studies. These results provide a characterization of the good practice framework not previously understood. It is organized in a similar fashion as to the preceding framework secton but an attunement has been made to the nine different components.

An Orientation of Worker Centredness

On the first framework component of program orientation, a clear pattern of worker centredness emerged. The majority of the 18 programs focused on specific worker needs. Of the many basic skills offered in the programs, six key areas were usually mentioned — reading, writing, mathematics, oral communications, work related problem solving, and computers. However it was difficult to see whether the goals of the trainee were all work related or personal development related. No definite trends emerged from this skill information. In nearly half of the programs, companies voiced an urgent need to deal with changes due to new technologies and saw the employee driven curriculum as a good way of transforming their work culture. A few programs were driven by the company's need to improve customer relations and provide a higher quality service.

Vehicles for partnerships and participation

The second component in this framework focuses on the types of participation by primary and secondary partnerships. At least half of the programs examined use the term advisory or steering committee as the vehicle for overseeing the initiative. These joint venture committees consisted of labour, management representation and sometimes service providers. Incentive grants from various levels of government to assist in the stages of program development were usually mentioned as a success factor. Another common organizing structure was the internal training committee whose membership included management, a company training coordinator and employees. It was often noted that in these types of programs, employees felt a real ownership of the training and would have liked more opportunities to become involved in the decision making process. The role of the instructor varied from program to program. In some instances, besides teaching, they took on roles of raising awareness in the organization while in other cases they were advocates in the community. It was also observed that many types of partnership configurations proved to be highly functional.

The Nature of Assessment

The fourth element in the framework relates to the various formats of assessment. One major theme that emerged in the case study data was that almost every program conducted an individual employee assessment during the planning stage and considered this activity to be of paramount importance to the success of the program. It was also noted that the various processes used in conducting these assessments developed employees' self confidence. In over half of the programs, the training needs of the workplace had been addressed either through an organizational needs assessment, literacy task analysis or variations of both. For those few programs that did not conduct an initial assessment of employee or workplace needs, there had been start up difficulty with mismatching of learners with curricula. A second pattern focused on the types of monitoring that took place throughout the program. In most cases, the instructors or teachers were involved in this process and occasionally peer assessment was noted. Overall, the process supported employee goals and confidentiality was respected. When employee goals included General Education for Development (GED) testing, learners decided who would receive the results. There was minimum use of computerized assessment techniques across all case studies. A third theme was related to how employers viewed the assessment process. Although many employers saw the value of the qualitative approach, some believed that a more quantitative approach would have benefitted the company more.

From On-Going Learning to Lifelong Learning

At the centre of the framework is the component of on-going learning. Overall, most programs participants believed that the on-going learning, through the instruction of the basic skills, was the precursor for the setting of the stage for lifelong learning. In a few instances, the program was seen as contributing to the larger learning organization. This learning culture was evident at the very outset of the program when employees became involved in its planning and design to the learning that spilled over into their personal, family and community lives. In over half of the case studies, the practical nature of the program content was directly linked to the workplace or specific tasks on the job. Another theme that clearly emerged from the data focused on the philosophy of management toward on-going learning. In all but a few cases, there was a genuine support from management to either promote or continue the services from the program. The support for on-going learning ranged from providing tutorial services for learners encountering difficulties to promoting the publishing of employees' stories. This kind of philosophy saw the program as part of a long term strategy to enhance employee satisfaction through training.

What is Professional Development?

Another element in the framework is professional development. This factor had less clarity than the other components. What seems to emerge from the data was a profile of what types of training the instructors had as they became engaged in workplace education and some of the qualities of a professional in a workplace classroom. The term qualified instructor seemed to mean several things. On one hand there were instructors external to the company who were experienced in prior literacy activities and those who had received some type of formal training in adult education. Then, there were those internal staff people or course leaders who were well versed in human resource issues and very involved in all company training. One of the most important qualities necessary of an instructor was the ability to liaise well among employees, management, the union and the service providing agencies. Good communication skills were essential for an instructor. A second quality was an ability to be adaptable with program curriculum, for example, being able to teach a GED program or to use a certain software program or a model from a different location or country. The third quality that was mentioned in some of the case study data was the availability of an instructor before and after scheduled classes. Surprisingly, no mention was made about the need for or types of continuous professional development for instructors.

DISCUSSION

This study has attempted to illustrate how an early framework of good practice principles can be used to understand what is going on in a number of Canadian workplace education programs. Secondly, in terms of the explanatory power of the framework, this study has also helped to clarify how certain components are supported and further defined and how they can provide a foundational base for understanding the complexity of workplace learning.

On the first point, the results have indicated that many of the framework components may be useful as guide posts in the development of workplace education initiatives. It would appear that a number of common elements existed in the case study data that clearly surfaced when enlargened through the lens of the framework. One of these was the framework component of "Partnerships and Participation". The data clearly indicated that by bringing different voices together to plan and carry out a program, partnerships can be formed at both the primary and secondary level. The notion of partnership appears crucial to any workplace intervention. Another component that can be used as a guide post is the program orientation of worker centredness. It was evident in the data that of the three foci or approaches towards a workplace education program, the orientation of a worker focus was prevalent. There appeared to be a tendency for creating relevant and meaningful learning situations which met the goals of the trainee first and often blended in with the goals of the organization.

Evidence was also provided for a third framework component — on-going assessment. Several key points are worthy of mention here. Almost every program analyzed in the study had conducted an individual employee assessment during the planning stage. Both the instructors and learners believed that this activity was of vital importance to the success of the program. Along with this, many of the programs, through trial and error, had made significant attempts to have the process of assessment viewed as a systematic event. A fourth component which could act as a guide post falls under the category of program content and delivery. Although the data was somewhat messy in this category, voluntary participation and conducting classes at the work site along with focusing on the basic skills that are relevant to the trainee emerged as flags.

On the second point of explanatory power, seven of the nine framework components were supported by evidence in the case study data. These included: program orientation, partnerships, assessment, on-going learning, principles of adult education, program content and evaluation. Two factors in the framework were less clearly defined — equity and professional development. This may be due to the early conceptualizations of these components and the somewhat indirect attention of this type of information in the actual case study write ups of the 18 programs. It may be useful to return to the early documents that give rise to these components and re-examine the core arguments looking for additional information.

Another area that is brought to the forefront as a result of the framework tool is the convergence between education and training. Although they have often been considered as polar extremes, the results of this study suggest that good training can include serious conceptual development and that education is more meaningful when it is conceptualized in practical activities. According to Castro and Oliveira (1996) the essence of successful learning strategies is to use the same workplace operations as a scaffold on which to build the conceptual or cognitive skills that are missing. As indicated in the results, the workplace can be an ideal context in which to plant cognitive development of a higher order. Thinking skills and functional reading and writing habits can be developed while doing practical tasks that lead to portable skills within an organization.

The framework of good practice principles has also helped clarify the "all embracing" view of lifelong learning. Together the framework components help explain that there is no single, unified and structured system of lifelong learning that suits all organizations. Rather, it reflects the cultures, particular conditions and needs of individual work sites. As pointed out by Hasan (1996) the very nature of lifelong learning depends on a great variety of initiatives taken by different actors and many spheres of life and work. In other words, it cannot be imposed but rather calls for cooperation and coordination among many stakeholders. This notion seems to be supported through the data analysis on program orientation, equity and on-going learning.

From a slightly different perspective, the results of this study suggest that the framework can provide an integrative structure for understanding the problematic situation of workplace education. Through this structure, certain inter-relationships between elements can be specified. Making a case for a variety of research methodologies, Kaplan (1996) believes that even when such sets of information as frameworks or structures are inexact, they have a role to play in the actual conduct of inquiry. In other words, it may be possible to now generate some hypotheses about the connections of the framework components and begin to develop appropriate research designs. As can be seen from this study, the value of the framework lies in part in its abstractness or in its many interpretations. The value lies also in the deductive quality of the structure so that unexpected consequences such as the lack of clarity around components such as equity and professional development can be tested by observation and experiments.

A final contribution of using the framework as a template in understanding workplace education is that the results have pointed to directions for further investigations in the area of learning theory. Although research and educational psychology may be expected to contribute to the foundation of training and development, it has been observed by most reviewers that very little integrative literature is available to work with since both domains exist side by side. (Lowyck, 1996). Understanding learning theory, however, is essential for any systematic approach to the training design and its development. Of particular importance is the transfer of learning which aims at providing usable and adaptable knowledge and skills for future use. This is an area that has been overlooked in all of the programs analyzed in this investigation.

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Ye Are Not Men! Ye Are Gods
The Student: A Natural History

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Abstract:

In the discourse between Learning and Education, the role of the student is central. We have tended, historically, to treat it as temporary and no more than instrumental. With nearly a fifth of the world's population in that role, increasingly encompassing all ages, it is time that we subjected it to an attempt at greater understanding.

Dans le discours entre l'apprentissage et l'education, le role de l'etudiant est strategique.. Nous l'avons considere seulement comme temporaire et instrumental. Puisque les etudients, de toutes ages, a present, composent presque un cinquieme de la population du monde, c'est l'heure de faire mieux notre comprehension.

"Ye are not men! Ye are Gods!" (1) , is the exhortation Peter Abelard offered his students at the University of Paris in the 12th Century. Rootless, ill-clothed in clerical black, ill-housed, ill-fed, randy and arrogant, one wonders how much they felt like Gods! Yet, perhaps they did, for they were young, free, and openly and enthusiastically engaged in learning. Before the distinctions between scholar and student had emerged and crystallized, it was a heady experience to be treated to original argument by one of the great teachers of his time. Other students, at other times, under other conditions, have felt the same.

The now concluding millennium will be given many names. The competition has just begun. Surely one of them must be the "Educational" millennium, since nothing characterizes it quite so much, from its very beginning, as the relentless march of formal education. A march which has reached a peak in the latter years, as more and more of the world's people, young, and older and older, have been included, for increasing periods of their lives, with in the precincts of formal instruction. Perhaps it ought to be called the "Millennium of the Student", because the first, and continuing result of Education itself, is the creation of the student. The most recent UNESCO statistics (2)indicate that there are 1,103,959000 students in the world's systems of formal education. Of that number, 506,985000 are female, with an average increase of 1.75 % since 1980. Of a total world population of 5,687,174000, students make up just less than a fifth. Other than the domestic roles of parents, daughters, sons, etc. it is difficult to find a role more heavily inhabited or more widely spread.

We tend to regard the student role as temporary and instrumental, populated primarily by children and the young, which has been the case for most of the Educational Millennium. However the developments of the last century has propelled not only more of the children and the young into that role, though never enough of them for liberal sentiments (3), but also increasing numbers of older individuals, on a full- and part-time basis. While the UNESCO figures record only the number of students in formally designated and reported systems of education, adult educators, t, know of the millions of others, most of them adults, who rarely show in such calculations. With so many, enjoying or perhaps enduring, the role, it is important for us to go beyond the instrumental and the temporary to explore the essential characteristics. Implicit in the argument is, that despite the differences in history, purpose, and culture characterizing systems of education, the student role is fundamentally universal, sharing characteristics that arise from its essential nature. That is to say that the student role is identifiable across space and time, meaning culture, as much as it is possible for any role to be. It is significant to note that the alternative term, "pupil", in use to describe the youngest inhabitants of the role, even into the early years of this century, has been generally abandoned in both popular and official use, indicating the essential commonality of the experience of being instructed.

The word *student* is used to distinguish those individuals enrolled in systems of formal instruction from the broader category of *learners*, a distinction we, as adult educators, too frequently overlook. We believe that the distinction is important precisely because the characteristics of the student role profoundly affect the learning outcomes associated with it .The role has been altered considerably since the middle of this century, in fact the most profound changes in education since the 1950"s have been associated with changes in what it means to be a student particularly with the emergence and legitimization of "distance education" in the industrial societies. Nevertheless more of the historical characteristics remain, than have actually been changed by emerging strategies and technologies. While the variables are many, we are using as a definition what we believe to be the one overriding characteristic, the surrender by the individual learner, young and old, of the right to evaluate his or her learning to an outside authority. Some learners, of course, do that, but all students engage in such a surrender as a matter of definition. Presumably that is the meaning of the word "formal" when attached to education.

What follows from that act of surrender are not only the other concomitants of the role, but another factor, which we as adult educators have witnessed perhaps more poignantly than anyone else, and that is the need for every student, whatever he or she is formally learning, to learn to be a student, that is to acquire the essential behaviour of the student role. The latter is an act of "meta" learning that generally goes unnoticed, except by the students themselves. Even amongst them, as they climb the instructional ladder uninterrupted, the characteristics are barely noticed. Nevertheless, without acquiring the characteristics skills and attitudes success in formal education is impossible.

Regardless of the stated purposes of the system of education: the creation of "noble warriors", of "scribes" (4), of citizens (5) or of "knowledge-workers; or of the exclusive or inclusive tendencies of the system, what has happened throughout the world, relentlessly, in the past thousand years has been the increase in the numbers of students. While for the bulk of the period, the student role has been primarily concentrated on the young so specifically as to make the terms and the characteristics of the role almost identical with those of youth, the inclusion of older and older individuals in the past half century has provided us with an enlarged perspective. For example a large part of the temporariness associated with it, has been precisely because it has been associated with a particular stage of life , predominantly with youth, dependence, and presumed malleability. Much of the educational attention directed to students, embodied in curricula, expectations, administrative practices, and physical arrangements have been as much determined by those latter characteristics as by the need to instruct and educate. It has been the addition of older students that has allowed us to perceive the physical, social, and psychic characteristics of "studentship" and to try to distinguish them from those associated with childhood and youth. A consequence of that detachment has been, and is, the slow infiltration of the youth-dominated systems by practices developed with older students, perhaps the basic foundations for a genuine culture of lifelong learning. What is at stake is the role that studentship should play in that culture .

The fundamental contradiction of student life is the implicit conflict between individual ends and collective means. The stated purposes of educational systems are individual growth and development, while, with few exceptions, the environment is always collective manifest in the special, segregated place, the school, the lyceum, the college, the campus of the university. Because the practices of the historical exceptions, for example, Oxford, and Cambridge, and the classic graduate school, are too expensive to accommodate large numbers of students, the normal environment is the environment of the class, and the classroom , the unquestioned and sanctified building block of formal education. A characteristic of the exceptions, is a casual attitude to collective phenomena, the university lecture, and a blurring of the distinction between students and scholars. Nevertheless in the nearly exclusive classroom culture of formal education, where collective techniques have gained increasing prominence - the small groups to be found from elementary school to the further reaches of post-secondary education, the projects, the teams, to say nothing of the collective culture of clubs, sports etc. outside of the classroom, - outcomes, grades, degrees, certificates are. equally exclusively individual. To our knowledge, there can be found no examples of group or collective awards, except in the extra-curricular areas of athletics, music, and drama. In addition all of those necessary collective phenomena are essentially manipulated in the interest of individual achievement.

Occasionally student collective life finds other expressions, than the carefully controlled activities in clubs, athletics, and the arts, most notably in political activity that spills over the boundaries of the privileged, reserved educational space into the larger society, as was the case in North America and Europe in the 1960's, and is the case in contemporary Indonesia. However in those separated places, distinguished by some combination of ecclesiastical and commercial/industrial architecture , an intense, if traditionally acknowledged short-term life is lived, usually characterized as "not real life", perhaps as "virtual" life ,designed expressly in order to maintain the freedom of error that necessarily accompanies the freedom to learn. An interesting aspect of that life is school uniforms, acquiring a new vogue among conventional schools for the young , which have officially(tunics) and unofficially(blue jeans), dominated the life of students in all periods. Historically student life has been regarded as a "full-time" life, though since younger students, for the most part lived at home, that status was reserved for post-secondary students living in some kind of residence ; the seminary, the college or university dormitory. As a result students have been treated as separate from the general community, usually privileged in terms of their treatment in the courts, or with respect to other of the usual responsibilities of citizenship. Contemporary developments such as criminal offences by the young, and in Canada, the changes to the Young Offenders Act, suggest a change in those attitudes, perhaps as a result of the student role being distributed more widely throughout the entire society.

This implicit conflict between group and individual, an unresolved conflict in the world's intellect, is embodied in the life of the student, perhaps to prepare us for adult life more surely than any stated curriculum, perhaps to ensure that it remain unresolved.

The student's life is a life of becoming, in fact quintessentially, "next-year" country. The next class, the next course, the next year, the next grade, the next school, always up the measured ladder. The language, some of it distorted in meaning is revealing; the "degree", meaning a proportion of knowledge, "graduation", conveying a similar meaning, with the prospect of completion, a popular ambition of the last two centuries, receding steadily into an indeterminate future. The immediate realities are the school day, in place long before the industrial day of eight to ten hours, the special place, the teacher(s), and the examination. Exactly what the student will become is manifest in exhortation, the curriculum embodied in that dullest of all books, the text-book, by peers, and by the example of those who have preceded, some visible in higher grades some in the far distance of advanced institutions.

The student lives in an environment created by educational authorities, embodied by the nearest teacher, an environment of deliberate novelty, against which his or her success in understanding, incorporating, or plain memorizing that novelty (learning by heart) is measured by the same people who create and maintain it. Everything is to a degree, second-hand, often reflected by the used materials, furniture, and books, of the generations that have preceded. It is not a matter of creating a new world, but of assimilating one that already exists, out side, among those individuals who already live it. If there are two "learning moments", one of learning something no one else has known, in the older forms of artistic creation, or invention, now mostly submerged in research, and the other of learning something the learner had never known before, regardless of how many others have known it, the student's life is the life of the latter. The intellectual epiphanies, and there are many, are essentially private and individual, basically a discourse between the individual and the system.

There are, of course, distinctions to be made between the experience of younger, compelled students, and the older, voluntary students, that have become inhabitants of the role in increasing numbers. Though, the voluntary have all been in the former role, their presence has already initiated alterations in the general characteristics. But it is precisely the donning of unchanging characteristics of studentship by those older citizens, and the prospect of extending the student role throughout entire lives, part-time or full-time, that begs exploration and analysis. So long as the role was confined to the young, and to a one-time passage from student to adult, from school to employment, its dimensions could remain transitory and instrumental. Combining student life with adult life is another matter. Is it a steady upward extension of "inadequacy" as John Ohliger(6) argued 25 years ago? Is it a maturing, creative, addition to the multiple roles adults already inhabit? Do we need to re-examine the role entirely, for young and old alike?

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A STRUGGLE FOR SELVES: A CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY OF ADULT LEARNING IN THE POSTMODERN MOMENT

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Abstract: the 'postmodern' offers unparalleled opportunities for personal experiment but amid frightening discontinuities and uncertainties. Theorising processes of adult learning at such a moment requires a new 'cultural psychology' transcending older polarities of rationality and emotionality, culture and psyche, self and others.

Le postmodernisme présente des possibilités sans parallèle pour l'expérience personnelle mais au sein de discontinuités et d'incertitudes effrayantes les processus idéologiques de l'apprentissage de l'adulte à un moment donné nécessitent une 'nouvelle psychologie culturelle' qui transcende les anciennes polarités de la rationale et de l'émotivité, de la culture et de la psyche, du moi et de l'autre.

In this paper I reflect on the nature of adult learning in the paradoxical post-modern moment, exploring the learning required to enable people to survive its traumas as well as exploit its opportunities. The 'paradox', at least in northern, consumerist, market orientated societies, consists, on the one hand, of enticing possibilities for people to experiment with diverse identities. Economic and labour market changes, combined with the politics of identity, have created more space for people to escape constraints of local fixedness, for example. But there are, on the other, also frightening insecurities when, for example, traditional economies and whole peoples can be 'deskilled' overnight. Theorising adult learning at such a moment requires, I suggest, a new conceptual frame, a kind of cultural psychology of learning (West, 1996). The concept of learning I want to articulate links intellectual forms of knowing to emotional understanding, culture to psyche, self to others. And story telling lies at its heart, in the necessity of composing some meaning, coherence and informed choice from the flotsam and jetson of experience, in a culture in which the meta-narratives of modernity, as well as more local and familial templates, have either fractured or are inadequate in changing times.

A central difficulty in reframing adult learning at this moment is that the discourse has narrowed, focusing on vocational forms of learning for individualistic/career advancement and/or issues of economic survival in a fiercely competitive environment. Lifelong learning has, to a considerable extent, been appropriated into a mantra of individual adaptability to economic imperatives in a fierce, fast moving world. The problem may be compounded by the fact that older narratives of adult learning have also proved inadequate to new times. Accounts of adult education for social change have, in retrospect, focused too exclusively on economic and social class, as well as processes of production, while reflecting an overly masculinist, rationalist and abstract conception of the world. There was too little space for more personal experience and challenging oppressions rooted in intimate relationships (Steedman, 1989). Or space for affectivity and the interconnectedness of thinking and feeling in transformational learning. There has, in fact, been a widespread suspicion towards emotionality as a source of insight and meaning while the personal was thought to detract from wider struggles (see, for example, Fieldhouse, 1996). It is as if subjectivity is the antithesis of more 'objective', rational understanding, rather than a means to enhance insight. Culture is presented as 'out there' rather than as a vital component in the construction of subjectivity and selves. To know a self is to know more of the world.

The postmodern moment

I argue that adult learning, of a more biographical and intimate kind, has become an imperative in the 'postmodern' moment. As, for example, tradition loses hold, as global economic forces deskill entire communities; as male linear biographical certainties - of school, work and retirement - disintegrate and as the meta narratives of modernity - the belief in progress, science or universalisms of any kind - lose their efficacy or are bitterly contested, individuals must choose, whether they wish to or not, among a range of options, as well as construct more of their own meanings and lifestyles without traditional frames of reference. Giddens (1991) acknowledges the danger of exaggerating the degree of stability and predictability in pre-modern times. But where, at the collective level, things stayed more or less constant from generation to generation, and where rites of passage and their meanings, as from adolescence to adulthood, for instance, were culturally ingrained, psychic reorganisations could be relatively easily accomplished. In present times, in contrast, self and identity have to be constructed and reconstructed without clear parameters and inter-generational templates. Beck's (1992) 'risk society' takes us into territory beyond the central issue of industrial society - the unequal distribution of social wealth - towards a wider political and existential crisis. The crisis lies in the inability of modern institutions to prevent and overcome global life insecurity, let alone tackle inequality; a crisis, in other words, of political legitimacy in the seeming impossibility of exercising control over the processes of globalisation and their effects. Beck suggests, crucially, that individuals are being held to be more responsible for decisions over their own lives at precisely the time when many of these decisions are beyond their control: as, for example, economies and associated lifestyles fracture. This creates a deep ambivalence towards contemporary experience: a sense of its possibilities and enticements (in the alluring images of consumption and the promise of release from everyday mundanity) co-existing with feelings of fragility and dissatisfaction.

Schuller (1995) has noted how, in traditional cultures, the life cycle carried connotations of renewal as each generation, in some substantial way, rediscovered and relived the modes of life of its forbears. In postmodernity, however, practices may only be repeated to the extent that they are deemed to be pragmatically useful. The implications, as observed, may be positive as well as problematic, providing opportunities to compose lives on more authentic terms. But people can also feel overwhelmed and become pathologically defensive towards change of any kind, finding solace in fundamentalist 'solutions'. Take the case of men and masculinity. Luttwak has described how structural economic change has evoked considerable consequences and at such speed that men must abandon what he calls *'lifetime proclivities, self-images and work place connections'* to acquire new skills (Luttwak, 1994). The impact of these forces is no longer confined to the industrial working class, or those in highly casualised, deskilled occupations, but encompasses white collar professionals too. Many men have great difficulty in handling and transcending economic dislocations and the loss of role and status involved; in a culture, that is, in which men feel vulnerable and threatened yet have been taught to deny this, even to themselves (Seidler, 1994). Samuels (1993) has catalogued evidence of the defensive mentality among elements of the men's movement, in which, according to the rhetoric, men should act more like men, ie in highly stereotypical ways, while women should retreat from the labour market to occupy more 'natural', domestic roles.

Stephen Frosh, from a psychological perspective, suggests that modern states of mind, and selves, are forged in cultural instability and insecurity of a potentially 'cataclysmic kind'

(Frosh, 1991). He argues that there are, at the extremes, two potential responses: a fluid and generative creativity as tradition breaks down or a pathological defensiveness against change and uncertainty of whatever kind. Frosh believes the nature of response to change and unpredictability depends on the strength, cohesion and well-being of a self: whether it is secure enough to cope with perpetual uncertainty and remain open to new experience, or not. We all experience times of intense fragility but healthy progression requires some courage and risk taking. It depends on feeling degrees of psychological security which, in turn, are rooted in our relationships with others. At the heart of relative security, or fragility, in early as well as later experience, is an acceptance, or rejection, by others, including of our vulnerability, uncertainty and fear.

Psychoanalytic object relations theories, on which such views are based, emphasise the self as a social, constructed phenomenon. There are different versions of the story but an influential account stresses the way in which children's early experience becomes fantasised as part of the child's own internal processes, providing the building blocks of personality. This self is intimately dependent on others for its realisation and expression, most of all on the extent to which relationships with significant others facilitate or frustrate risk taking, spontaneity and experiment. If relationships are abusive and persecutory, for instance, internal life may develop that way too. These micro-cultures of learning are shaped by wider structures of power, patterns of relationship and discourse in which some people are valued more than others. The meta stories told about particular groups may be highly negative, on the basis of gender, ethnicity or sexuality, for example. But these scripts, given propitious circumstances, can be challenged and reformulated in ways which strengthen individual selves as well as collective identities.

I am suggesting that creativity and risk taking are at the heart of learning and adaptation at moments of transition and this is determined by the quality of relationships. At a simple level, a person has to believe the 'I' will not fall apart, or be abused, in the process of experimentation. Bollas (1986) connects the affective dimension of earliest object relations with transformational and symbolic experience over a life. He writes of cultures of learning in which the prime care giver not only sustains a life but also, through the idiom of relationship, creates an aesthetic of being that becomes a feature of the infant's own internal world. This first object relation is a transformational object, one which can integrate the instinctual, cognitive, affective and environmental life of the infant, and create a confident sense of being. Bollas suggests that symbolic objects - in artistic and aesthetic moments, for instance - can, like supportive human interaction, signify primitive processes of renewal (Bollas, 1986). The primitive is most alive and needy at times of fracture.

Interactions between self and objects may, in the above account, take varied symbolic forms as in play, art, music, the good seminar and group, a walk in the country or fishing. What seems to be important is the capacity to `let go' and surrender conscious ego functions and controls in creative experience. Winnicott calls this a `relaxed self-realisation', which involves the individual in enjoying what is being done and to feel alive in the process (Winnicott, 1971). Paradoxically, a self may be most itself when forgotten, absorbed and uplifted by experiences which provide primitive emotional sustenance alongside intellectual and practical achievement. Good object relations - symbolic or 'actual' - are constantly required to keeping on keeping on, most especially in the postmodern moment.

There are, of course, quite different readings of the postmodern. There may be a profound suspicion towards psychologising experience in this way, especially when processes are beyond empirical validation, relying as they do on pragmatic, utilitarian tests of validity. There are those who insist, moreover, that modernity's fractures should be enthusiastically embraced rather than being cause for regret, given the increased opportunities for experiment with diverse subjectivities. There is greater choice, for instance, surrounding what it is to be a man or woman. Even consumerism, Johnston and Usher (1997) insist, can liberate the play of multiple identities by offering greater choice of lifestyles: consumer choices are socially communicative acts, markers of difference, providing an opportunity to engage in a much richer range of cultural practices. I accept the postmodern increases choice but believe complex experiences of the present require a more psychological as well as cultural frame of reference. There is, as Beck suggests, a deep ambivalence towards contemporary experience. Consumerism might offer increased choice but this can fail to satisfy at deeper levels, encouraging, in some, a manic, yet ultimately, fruitless quest for gratification via material possessions and consumption. Richards has explored how successive acts of consumption may provide little basis for individual experience to cohere around stable configurations of feeling and value and '*for the painful, affective interchange with other people upon which development and sustenance of selfhood depends*' (Richards, 1989). By promoting individualistic, asocial and omnipotent fantasies, consumerism can undermine the stability and formation of a self.

A major difficulty is that the idea of a self, even an experientially contingent, socially constituted self, tends to be disregarded or even disparaged in some influential postmodern theory. Multiple selves and diverse subjectivities, rather than a cohesive self, are celebrated instead. The dissolution or deconstruction of self appears to offer huge potential prizes: identities and selves which are socially and/or linguistically constructed are open to reconstruction in new, exciting and variable ways. For Foucault and Derrida the idea of the self is modernist fiction: there is nothing which is not a product of the often contradictory practices and discourses in which we figuratively find ourselves (Flax, 1990). We should celebrate rather than lament incoherent, disjointed experience and selves. But those most celebrating the dissolution of the self may be unaware of the psychological cohesion and existential legitimacy which make their experiments possible. Those with least sense of self, as in the borderline personality, have things to teach those who take 'themselves' for granted (West, 1996). People who have been victims of abusive relationships, for example, experience inner life as precarious, fragile, fragmented, full of terror; broken selves who have little to celebrate among fragments. Postmodern writing, in fact, tends to fetishise change and fragmentation, for its own sake. If experience is fragmentary what matters is what we do with it. It is about the stories we generate for ourselves and others, by way of meaning, intelligibility, morality and coherence. Randell (1995) talks of the good life being like the good novel: as an exercise of artistry and imagination, of creating something substantial and coherent. Living is a kind of aesthetic enterprise; an art, a process of creating shape from shapelessness. The more there are many selves, the bigger the challenge of weaving a sense of integrity and transforming the confusions, chaos, pain as well as pleasures of a life into a greater, if always contingent, whole.

Learning from the margins

But the postmodern is, as suggested, far from monolithic and there are opportunities for experiment too, if we can create the right circumstances. The women's movement, black consciousness, gay liberation, and the peoples of First Nation communities, all, to varying degrees, illustrate, in recent times, profound shifts in individual and collective consciousness, in oppressive situations. Such shifts include affective, cognitive as well mythical identifications with significant others, and their stories. Those, for example, who successfully struggle against oppression and embody characteristics which are admired and in due course, and in supportive contexts, can be internalised by others; in short, good object experiences. My own biographical research into adult learners, living in fragmenting communities, reveals how profound changes in feelings towards self and a life are possible, in higher education, given a positive mirroring of new, experimental selves in the responses of teachers and fellow learners. In the same research, a number of men whose traditional roles had disintegrated, were using informal as well as formal learning to compose more feminised lifestyles in which relationships had higher priority (West, 1996). At the centre of one narrative was a self maintained, in certain respects at least, through a love affair with fishing. This was a source of companionship (most of all with his sons), the deepest personal satisfaction and the strongest feelings of achievement. It provided a basis for an experiment in renegotiating the emotional division of labour, with his wife, who, in turn, was encouraged to enter an academic preparation programme. If there are immense dangers in the postmodern moment there are also profound and uplifting experiences from which we can all learn, in new ways.

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